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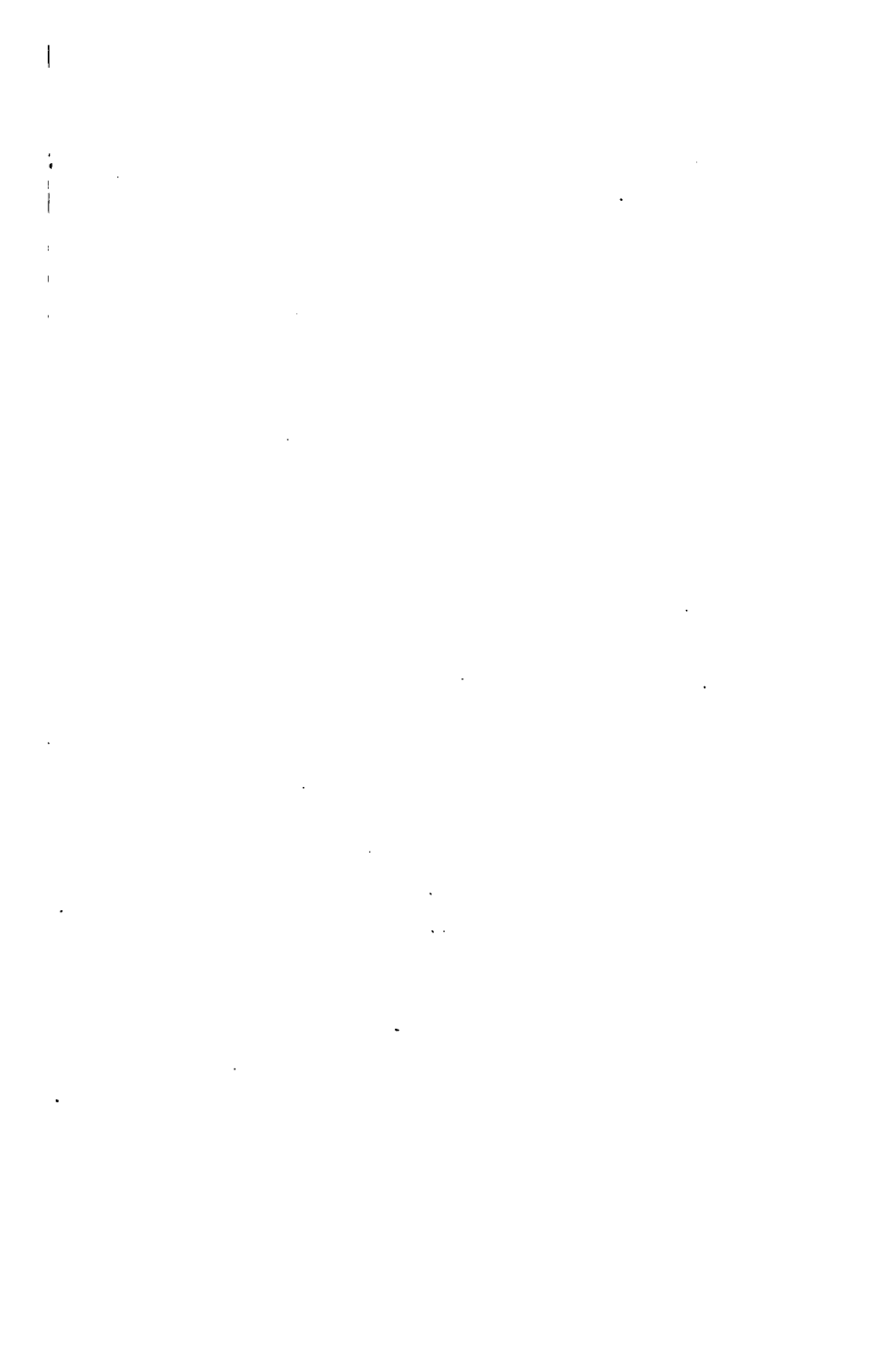
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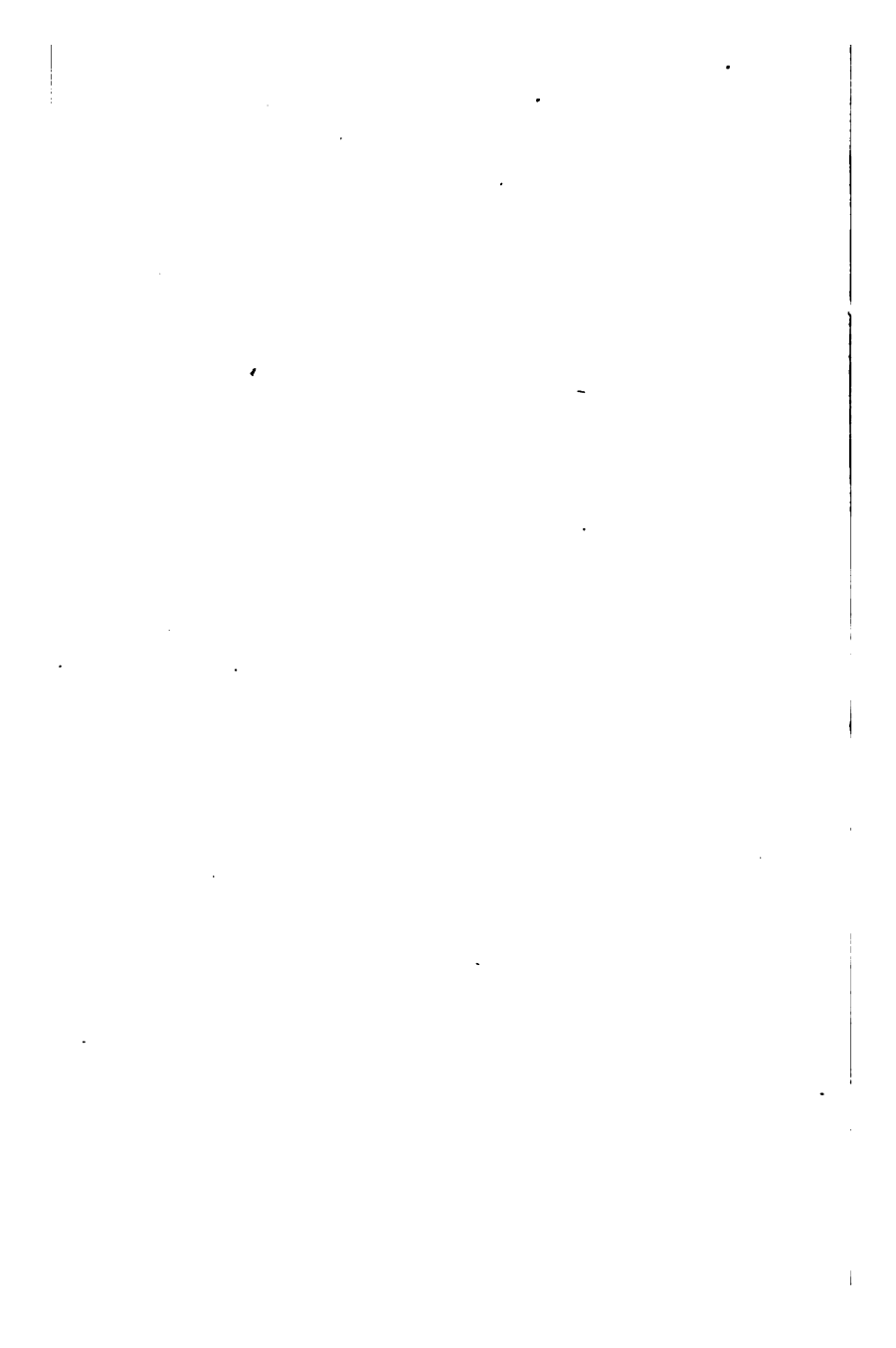
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THE
LIBRARY
OF THE
OLD ENGLISH PROSE WRITERS.

VOL. II.
SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S DEFENCE OF POESY.
SELDEN'S TABLE-TALK.



So long he reads in those antiquities,
That how the time has fled, he quite forgets.
SPENSER.

CAMBRIDGE:
HILLIARD AND BROWN,
BOOKSELLERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

M DCCC XXXI.

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HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
GIFT OF
MARY E. HAVEN
JULY 2, 1914.

Out of the olde fieldes, as men saithie,
Cometh all this newe corn fro yere to yere ;
And out of olde bookes, in goode faithe,
Cometh all this newe science that men lere.

CHAUCER.

CAMBRIDGE:
E. W. METCALF AND COMPANY,
Printers to the University.

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THE
DEFENCE OF POESY.

BY SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

TABLE-TALK.

BY JOHN SELDEN.

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHORS.



CAMBRIDGE:
HILLIARD AND BROWN,
BOOKSELLERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

M DCCC XXXI.

Would I had fallen upon those happier days,
That poets celebrate, those golden times,
And those Arcadian scenes, that Maro sings,
And SIDNEY, warbler of poetic prose.

COWPER.

Nor can the Muse the gallant SIDNEY pass,
The plume of war! with early laurels crown'd,
The lover's myrtle, and the poet's bay.

THOMSON.

Sir PHILIP SIDNEY and Mr. Hooker (in different matters) grew great masters of wit and language, and in whom all vigor of invention and strength of judgment met.

BEN JONSON.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE favorable reception given to the first volume of the "Library of Old English Prose Writers" having encouraged the publishers to proceed with the enterprise, the Editor has now the satisfaction of presenting a second volume of the work, and at the same time of announcing that it will be succeeded by others with all possible despatch.

As some misapprehension has been found to exist in regard to the character which this publication will assume, the Editor wishes to have it distinctly understood that it is not designed to be a theological work. It is not intended exclusively or primarily for clergymen; but for the lovers of good learning generally. Some of the pieces to be incorporated in the series will doubtless be from the pens of the old English divines; but they will be inserted not be-

cause the authors of them were clergymen, but because they were among the most eloquent and beautiful writers in the language, and produced works that do not deserve to die. The Editor intends to draw freely from all the stores of old English prose, without reference to sect or profession. Not only the divine and the moralist, but the poet and the philosopher, the lawyer and the physician, the statesman and the warrior, will be laid under contribution to enhance the value and diversify the interest of the work.

In reply to the question which has more than once been asked, How many volumes will the Library consist of? the Editor can only say that this is a point which the public must decide. The work may be continued as long as the materials hold out, and the interest or patience of its patrons remains unexhausted. He may, however, be permitted to state, that it is his intention to issue first the writings of those authors whose merits are less generally known, but whose claims to a place in such a collection as this, are incontestable; as one great object of the work is "to remember the forgotten, and attend to the neglected." Still no piece will be

inserted merely because it is old or unknown ; none will be inserted that is barely tolerable, or whose merits are a subject of dispute or doubt ; none in short will be admitted that has not passed the ordeal of a severe and independent criticism, and been crowned with the concurring approbation of ages.

The claims of Sir Philip Sidney and John Selden to a place in this Library, it is presumed no one will question. The "Defence of Poesy" is certainly one of the purest and most brilliant gems in the coronet of English literature ; while the "Table-Talk," for its admirable good-sense, its shrewdness of remark, and its accurate delineation of men and manners, stands without an equal in the class of writings to which it belongs. The former of these treatises is here published entire ; and the latter with the exception only of a few passages, in the whole not amounting to two pages, whose grossness of sentiment and expression rendered them inadmissible.

The third volume of this Library will comprise the Miscellaneous Works of Sir Thomas Browne, an eminent physician and philosopher

of the seventeenth century, and will include among other papers the whole of "The Religion of a Physician," and the treatise on "Urn-Burial." A life of Browne was written by Dr. Johnson, and he has been justly characterized as the most extraordinary writer in the English language. The tracts abovementioned contain some of the most magnificent prose to be met with in any language.

ALEXANDER YOUNG,

Boston, August 25, 1831.

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SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.*

THE life of Sir Philip Sidney is one of the most faultless and interesting of which English history can boast. His ancient lineage and varied acquirements, his gallant bearing in the field, and the melancholy close of his career while yet in the very blaze of his glory, have all contributed to endear his name, and to throw a halo around his memory. By his contemporaries he appears to have been regarded as the "glass of fashion and the mould of form," as the

* The following memoir is chiefly abstracted from the Life prefixed to Gray's edition of Sir Philip Sidney's Miscellaneous Works, published at Oxford in 1829. A more complete biography will be found in Zouch's Memoirs of Sidney; 4to. 1808.

Bayard of England, "sans peur et sans reproche," the mirror of knighthood, and the flower of chivalry. Whether he betook himself, accordingly, to the camp, the court, or the grove, he never failed to become "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes," the paragon whom the warrior sought to rival in the brilliancy of his exploits, and the fair to bind with love-knots to the triumphal car of beauty.

This accomplished person was born on the 29th of November, 1554, at Penshurst, in West Kent, a seat which had been granted to his ancestors by the munificence of Edward the Sixth. The mansion, and the beautiful and romantic scenery with which it is surrounded; "the broad beech, and the chesnut shade;" and

That taller tree, which of a nut was set
At his great birth, where all the muses met; *

have each been rendered classic by Ben Jonson in the celebrated lines of his Forest, where he has taken occasion to introduce them. It has been supposed that the Sidney family were originally of French extraction, and that they came over into England about the reign of Henry the Second, to whom William de Sidney was chamberlain. At all events, the grandfather of Sir Philip held some offices of dignity and importance in the household of Henry the Eighth, and had the honor of being celebrated

* This "sacred mark of noble Sidney's birth," as Waller reverently denominates it, was cut-down in 1768; but it will ever "live in description, and look green in song."

among the commanders who were present at the bloody fight of Flodden. He left an only son, Henry, the father of our author, who received the honor of knighthood, and was subsequently appointed ambassador to France by his amiable sovereign, Edward the Sixth, with whom he was connected by the closest ties of early intimacy and regard. The characters of Sir Henry and his consort, who was eldest daughter to the ambitious and unfortunate John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, have been thus delineated by Fulke Greville, lord Brooke, who was the kinsman, companion, and biographer of their son. "Sir Henry Sidney," he says, "was a man of excellent natural wit, large heart, sweet conversation, and such a governor as sought not to make an end of the state in himself, but to plant his own ends in the prosperity of his country. On the other side, lady Mary Sidney, as she was a woman by descent of great nobility, so was she by nature of a large ingenious spirit. Whence, as it were even racked with native strengths, she chose rather to hide herself from the curious eyes of a delicate time, than come upon the stage of the world with any manner of disparagement, the mischance of sickness having cast such a veil over her excellent beauty, as the modesty of that sex doth many times upon their native and heroical spirits."

On the death of his royal master and patron, who breathed his last in his arms, Sir Henry Sidney withdrew from the court to his paternal residence at Penshurst, and thus escaped the complicated miseries

in which his father-in-law was involved, by his fruitless attempt to place the lady Jane Grey upon the throne. It was during this retirement from public life that the subject of our memoir first saw the light ; and he received the name of Philip out of compliment to the lately married husband of queen Mary, by whom Sir Henry was appointed her vice-treasurer, and advanced to other high preferments.

The early years of his son Philip were singularly indicative of his future eminence, and were illustrated by many traits of natural genius and industry. "Of his youth," observes lord Brooke, "I will report no other wonder but this, that though I lived with him, and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man : with such staidness of mind, lovely and familiar gravity, as carried grace and reverence above greater years. His talk ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind ; so as even his teachers found something in him to observe, and learn, above that which they had usually read, or taught. Which eminence by nature, and industry, made his worthy father style Sir Philip, in my hearing (though I unseen), '*lumen familie sue*.'"

After having remained some considerable time, and made unwonted progress in ancient learning, at the grammar school of Shrewsbury, young Sidney was removed to Oxford, of which his maternal uncle, the famous Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, then held the office of chancellor ; and he was entered at Christ Church, in 1569, under the tuition of Dr. Tho-

mas Thornton*, an elegant and accomplished scholar. Here again, as formerly, his assiduity and acuteness more than justified the exalted estimate of his talents which his juvenile precocity had excited. "He cultivated," we are informed, "not one art, or one science, but the whole circle of arts and sciences; his capacious and comprehensive mind aspiring to pre-eminence in every part of knowledge attainable by human genius or industry." And, not satisfied with the liberal opportunities of adding to his acquirements which his present alma mater afforded, he appears at a later period to have transferred his residence to the sister seminary of Cambridge, where he continued to prosecute his studies with unabated ardor and success. "Such," says Fuller, "was his appetite for learning, that he could never be fed fast enough therewith, and so quick and strong his digestion, that he soon turned it into wholesome nourishment, and thrived healthfully thereon."

In the month of May, 1572, Mr. Sidney obtained a license from the queen to travel beyond the seas in order that he might perfect his knowledge of the continental tongues. The period of his absence was limited to two years; and he set out on his journey, with several others of distinguished rank, in the

* This amiable divine had it recorded upon his tomb, that he was "the tutor of Sir Philip Sidney." Lord Brooke, also, had the following inscription placed over his grave: "Fulke Greville, servant to queen Elizabeth, counsellor to king James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney."

train of the earl of Lincoln, then lord admiral of England, and ambassador extraordinary to the court of France. Whilst he sojourned at Paris his deportment attracted the marked attention and approval of the reigning monarch, Charles the Ninth, who honored him with the appointment of gentleman in ordinary of his chamber: but whatever regard our traveller might have entertained for this inhuman and perfidious sovereign was, we presume, sufficiently extinguished, after a very short duration, by having witnessed, and nearly suffered in, that most savage act of religious bigotry, the fiend-like massacre of St. Bartholomew. At the same time a far more grateful and flattering acquisition was made by him in the friendship and sincere respect of the gallant Henry of Navarre, which he was then so fortunate as to secure by his winning manners and address.

The disturbed and infuriated condition of the French empire at this epoch, and more particularly the danger to which all of Hugonot principles were exposed by attempting to remain within its territories, induced Mr. Sidney to hurry onwards into less perilous lands; and he therefore now passed successively through Germany, Hungary, Italy, and Belgium. He appears, from the accounts of his biographers, to have uniformly acquired the affection and permanent esteem of the many virtuous and learned persons whom he happened to encounter in the course of his journeyings; and, from among the number of these literati, he entered into the strictest bonds of amity, at Frankfort, with the celebrated Hubert Languet, minister of the elector of Saxony, and

the admired companion of Melancthon, who chanced to lodge under the same roof where he had taken up his temporary abode. From this invaluable associate Sidney derived much important information relative to the government, the usages, and the laws of different nations; not to mention the various other branches of erudition in which that universal scholar was so exactly versed, a circumstance to which our author has very feelingly alluded in one of the poems to be found in the *Arcadia*. We have it, moreover, on the authority of lord Brooke, that Languet actually quitted his several functions, without prospect of hire or reward, for the purpose of becoming, as he quaintly expresses it, "a nurse of knowledge to this hopeful young gentleman," and the attached companion of the greater portion of his travels. A regular correspondence was kept up by the friends after their unavoidable separation; and the Latin epistles of the sage, which were first published at Frankfort and subsequently at Edinburgh, have received the highest encomiums for their classic purity and elegance.

Sir Philip neglected no opportunity that was offered to him on his route of increasing his stock of accomplishments, which was already so extraordinary. At Vienna he received lessons in horsemanship, and the several martial exercises of the age; at Venice he held intercourse with all the brightest spirits of the proud republic, then in the zenith of its magnificence; and at Padua he again applied himself, with all his early assiduity, to the acquisition of geometry, astronomy, and the other branches of study usually prosecuted in that yet flourishing university.

Sidney was prevented from visiting Rome by the earnest dissuasions of his Mentor, Languet, who seems to have been sadly alarmed lest the religious principles of his young correspondent should suffer any serious injury from a near intercourse with the scarlet lady, her abominations, and her active emissaries; and our author, accordingly, returned to his native country in 1575, after a separation from his relatives of exactly three years' duration.

Soon after his arrival he made his debut in fashionable life, and straightway became the delight of every circle that was favored with his acquaintance and familiar intercourse. Indeed, "he was so essential," if we may believe Fuller, "to the English court, that it seemed maimed without his company, being a complete master both of matter and language." Queen Elizabeth herself received him with the most flattering civilities; "and called him," says Zouch, "*her Philip*, in opposition, it is alleged, to Philip of Spain, her sister's husband." Perhaps our author was in no small degree indebted for this last mark of condescension and endearment to his close relationship, and confidential union, with the haughty favorite Leicester. But, be that as it may, Sir Philip was nominated ambassador to Vienna in 1576, to condole with the emperor Rodolph on the demise of his father Maximilian the Second; and we are farther informed, that this distinguished appointment proceeded directly from the discernment and personal suggestion of his royal mistress.

In the discharge of his diplomatic duties, which likewise embraced the formation of an alliance be-

tween all the Protestant states of Europe against the increase of Romish power and the cruel tyranny of the Spaniards, Mr. Sidney acquitted himself with adroitness, and to the entire satisfaction of his employers ; and he returned once more to England in 1577, crowned with additional laurels, and furnished with a deeper knowledge of mankind. Among the number of his new admirers, and warm congratulators on his success, he had the pleasure of enumerating lord Burleigh, the political enemy of his family, and the experienced Sir Francis Walsingham, to whom he had been previously known in private life, and with whom friendship was ultimately cemented by the still dearer ties of kindred.

Though in the commencement of 1576, Sir Philip's connexion and influence had been materially increased by the marriage of his sole surviving sister * with Henry, earl of Pembroke ; yet, for several years subsequent to his return from his German embassy, he appears neither to have made any advance in his public career, nor to have held any office of trust or honor in the state, except the trifling and merely

* This accomplished lady evinced no inconsiderable poetic capacity, and is well known as the subject of Ben Jonson's famous epitaph ; beginning,

“ Underneath this sable hearse
Lies the subject of all verse ;
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother :
Death, ere thou hast killed another
Fair, and learn'd, and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.”

nominal one of the royal cup-bearer. It is possible, however, and indeed we gather as much from the letters of Languet, that this may have proceeded from his own temporary disinclination to active labor, and that he preferred devoting his leisure to the happy privacy which he celebrates in his poems, and to the literary exercises in which he never relaxed, or conceived for a moment that he had attained the goal of his ambition. But we must admit, at the same time, that we think it still more probable his promotion may have been retarded from the machinations of lord Burleigh, part of whose policy it was, as we are informed by lord Bacon, in the *Cabala*, that "able men should be by design and of purpose suppressed."

About the period in question, Sidney stood manfully forward to defend the character of his father, who had been charged with some act of arbitrary authority in his government of Ireland; and he not only succeeded in conciliating the queen, over whom the enemies of his house had gained much influence, but also completely reinstated his parent in the good opinion of the virtuous and the impartial. This affair had nearly involved him in a dangerous quarrel with Thomas, earl of Ormond, to whom he imputed the insidious practices by which her majesty's affections had been alienated; but, fortunately, the dispute terminated, when the first excitement had a little subsided, by the intervention of friends, and the mutual concessions of the parties. The danger, however, to which his father was still exposed, from the active malice of his adversaries, prevented Sid-

ney from accepting a flattering invitation which he received in 1578 from John Casimir, the count palatine of the Rhine,* to join him in his meditated warfare against the king of Spain in the Netherlands. The venerable lord deputy fully appreciated the affectionate solicitude which had induced his beloved defender to remain in England; and he thus speaks of Sir Philip, in a letter to his second son, Robert, with all that fondness and pride which the possession of such an offspring might well excite and justify. "Follow the advice," he says, "of your most loving brother, who, in loving you, is comparable with me, or exceedeth me. Imitate his virtues, exercises, studies, and actions: he is a rare ornament of his age, the very formular that all well-disposed young gentlemen of our court do form also their manners and life by. In truth, I speak it without flattery of him or myself, he hath the most virtues that ever I found in any man. I saw him not these six months, little to my comfort. You may hear from him with more ease than from me. In your travels, these documents I will give you, not as mine, but his practices. Seek the knowledge of the estate of every prince, court, and city, that you pass through. Address yourself to the company, to learn this, of the

* This prince visited England in the autumn of 1578, for the purpose of gaining supporters to his hitherto unfortunate cause, the defence of the United Provinces. He was accompanied on this occasion by Hubert Languet, who was principally induced to take the journey, that he might once more enjoy the society and conversation of his friend Sidney.

elder sort, and yet neglect not the younger. By the one you shall gather learning, wisdom, and knowledge; by the other, acquaintance, languages, and exercise. Once again I say, imitate him."

It is pleasing to remark that Robert Sidney did not derogate from his illustrious parentage, or show himself unworthy of his brother's regard. He was an able envoy, and a gallant soldier. His bravery at the battle of Zutphen procured him the honor of knighthood from his uncle Leicester, on the 7th of October, 1586. He was advanced to the dignity of lord Sidney, baron of Penshurst, on the accession of James the First to the English throne, and was subsequently created viscount L'Isle in 1605; and elevated to the earldom of Leicester in 1618. Of his truly paternal care of his children, Ben Jonson says, in his "Forest,"

" They are, and have been taught religion ; thence
Their gentler spirits have suck'd innocence.
Each morn and even, they are taught to pray,
With the whole household, and may, every day,
Read in their virtuous parents' noble parts
The mysteries of manners, arms, and arts."

In 1572 Catherine de Medicis had proposed joining England to France, by forming a matrimonial union between Elizabeth and her son Henry, the duke of Anjou. This project, however, was for the time counteracted by the zealous efforts of the Hugonot chiefs; but it was not long afterwards revived by the emissaries of France, though a new suitor was now brought forward in the person of the duke

of Alençon, the youngest son of Catherine, who subsequently succeeded to the title of Anjou, on the elevation of his brother to the throne of Poland. To this match, Elizabeth herself, whether from policy or inclination, at first lent no unwilling ear; and the circumstance filled the realm with undisguised alarm and distress. The Protestant party in the kingdom, how discordant soever on other topics, unanimously combined in a strenuous opposition to the scheme. Both Burleigh and Leicester covertly, and Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Ralph Sadler, and numerous influential persons openly, lent their cordial endeavours to break off the treaty, and to bring disgrace upon its supporters; and Sir Philip Sidney addressed a remonstrance to the powerful and "throned vestal," in which he ably pointed out the evils that were likely to arise from a connexion with the unpopular house of Valois. This production, bearing the date 1580, which is alleged to have had the effect of diverting the queen from her intentions, has received a very lofty meed of praise from Mr. Hume, and has been more recently characterized by Miss Lucy Aikin, as "at once the most eloquent and the most courageous piece of that nature which the age can boast. Every important view of the subject," she adds, "is comprised in this letter, which is long, but at the same time so condensed in style, and so skilfully compacted as to matter, that it well deserves to be read entire; and must lose materially either by abridgment or omission."

About this time, in consequence of a quarrel with the earl of Oxford, Sir Philip retired for a season to

the abode of the countess of Pembroke at Wilton, where he whiled away his time in planning and composing the *Arcadia*. This work, however, was not completed, nor made public, during his life; but was collected together, after his decease, and given to the press, by his sister, and hence it obtained the name of the Countess of Pembroke's *Arcadia*. There can be no doubt that it suffered severely in being deprived of the finishing touches and corrections of its author; and, indeed, it is not a little wonderful, considering all the disadvantages under which it labored, that we find it so perfect and so comparatively faultless as it now appears; for he tells us himself, in his dedication to the countess, that it was written on loose sheets of paper, most of it in her presence, and the rest sent to her in the same way as fast as it was done; and he is alleged to have requested, with considerable earnestness, on his death-bed, that this "charm of ages," as Dr. Young rightly call it, might be committed wholly to the flames.*

It is supposed, that about this time Sir Philip Sidney devoted himself, for a season, to a life of contemplative retirement. Part of the fruits of his meditation was his much celebrated *Defence of Poesy*, one of the noblest tributes ever offered to the allurements of the muse. It belongs, in fact, to the small number of those happy creations which he alone could either have produced, or devised, who has been

* An interesting article on the *Arcadia* may be found in the second volume of the *Retrospective Review*, pp. 1 - 45. See also Dunlop's *History of Fiction*.

touched and purified with the sacred fire of true genius. It remains an imperishable monument of the digested learning of its author, and of the engaging facility with which he could turn his talents to account. It has been aptly described, in his own words, as the "sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge"; as the out-pouring and register of those "high-erected thoughts," which are solely to be found seated in their purity "in a heart of courtesy." At the same time it contains few of those mannerisms and studied affectations of his day, with which, it must be confessed, his larger work is often deformed. This is, on the contrary, a plain and practical treatise, seeking above all things to carry conviction by its illustrations and its arguments, and making fancy and ornament entirely subservient to the cause of persuasion and of truth. Yet the imaginative genius of the author frequently bursts forth in all its splendor, and strews his didactic path with a galaxy of the most brilliant conceptions. He seems here to follow religiously the memorable advice with which his muse favored him on another occasion, — "Look in thy heart and write."

Viewing this production in a different light, it acquires an additional interest. It was, as it were, the flourish of trumpets, or the richly varied overture "in linked beauties long drawn out," which preceded the appearance of Shakspeare, and his fellow bards, on the dramatic scene. It smoothed down the asperities of feeling with which their performances might have been assailed by a powerful religious party in the state, and prepared the way for those

magnificent effusions of human intellect which have secured to the reign of Elizabeth one of the most glorious pages in the records of immortality. Previous to its publication, if we may implicitly credit Sidney's account, both poetry and its professors had been reduced to the lowest form of degradation in the popular esteem; and some efficient auxiliary was required to secure them a patient and unbiased audience, and to elevate them into that estimation which was necessary to give them a chance of success. This our author achieved for them by the convincing eloquence of his discourse, and he has reaped his reward in the imperishable renown of ages. To quote, indeed, the several eulogies of this Defence's merits, would be to cite every author who has mentioned it since its gifted composer lived. The scholar and the critic have been equally animated in its praises; and while the one has recommended it as being replete with Greek and Roman erudition, the other has held it up as a perfect model, at once of expression and of logical method. "It is a work of love," says a reviewer in the first number of the London Quarterly Review, "and the luminous order of criticism is embellished by all the graces of poetry." "As an essay on the nature, objects, and effects of poetry as an art," declares an able journal, the Retrospective Review, "it is beyond comparison the most complete work of the kind which we possess, even up to the present day. The truth is, that the Defence of Poesy has formed the staple of all the thousand and one dissertations on that art, with which our magazines and reviews have teemed

during the last twenty years."* "There are few rules and few excellencies of poetry, especially epic and dramatic," observes Dr. Joseph Warton, "but what Sir Philip Sidney, who had diligently read the best Latin and Italian commentaries on Aristotle's Poetics, has here pointed out and illustrated with true taste and judgment."

Mr. Sidney applied by letter to lord Burleigh, in the month of January, 1582, to be conjoined in the mastership of the ordnance with his gallant uncle, the earl of Warwick: but we are informed that his solicitation in this instance was devoid of success, even although her majesty yielded "a gracious hearing unto it." It is by no means improbable, as we have already surmised, that the very uncommon abilities and accomplishments which our author possessed, may have been pleaded as a reason for not granting him any appointment whatever under the crown: at least we find these very matters seriously stated by Elizabeth as a cause why lord Bacon had been impeded in his professional advancement.

In the course of the same year, overtures were made to his father by the persons at the helm of affairs, to undertake once more the administration of government in Ireland, which he had formerly discharged with such prudence and ability: and that venerable worthy would have had no objection again to burthen his advanced age with the irksome toils

* See the whole article in the tenth volume of the Retrospective Review, pp. 43-60.

of office, provided his son would have consented to accompany him as an assistant, and put himself in the way of obtaining some reversionary advantage from the appointment. Yet, though the offer appears to have been increased in attraction by prospects of peerages and grants, it does not seem to have inspired Sir Philip with any inclination to embrace it.

During the subsequent year, our author became united in marriage to the only surviving daughter of his old friend, Sir Francis Walsingham. She is mentioned as being a lady possessed of many amiable qualities, and as distinguished besides by "extraordinary handsomeness."

On the 13th of January, 1583, our author received the honor of knighthood, at Windsor, as proxy to his acquaintance and admirer, John Casimir, the prince palatine of the Rhine, who was then invested with the most noble order of the garter.

We find Sidney engaged, in 1584, in defending his uncle Leicester against one of the most inveterate and scurrilous libels, which the religious dissensions of the times, prolific of animosity as they were, had produced. This was the famous tract entitled, "A Dialogue between a Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Lawyer"; and familiarly denominated "Father Parson's Green Coat," from the peculiar color of its leaves; but afterwards still more generally known and circulated under the name of "Leicester's Commonwealth." It was understood to be the composition of Robert Parsons, a bigoted and intriguing Jesuit, and met with an immense popularity both in England and abroad, among the numerous religious

enemies and political rivals of the supercilious favorite. In its pages every thing was raked together which the tongue of scandal had uttered to the disparagement of the exalted statesman whom it strove to overwhelm with obloquy ; * and, where that was silent, the imagination of the ecclesiastic was not slow in filling up the void, and in supplying materials which were characterized by all the venom and rancor that the most ruthless hatred could suggest.

Sir Philip's answer breathes far too much of the fierce and implacable spirit of his opponent. It is rather a cartel of defiance to his adversary, than a cool, deliberate refutation of the calumnies which had been advanced against the honor and fair fame of his relative. His wrath will not allow him to examine and repel the various charges as they present themselves in detail ; and nearly the whole of his eloquence is lavished on a topic in which general readers cannot now be supposed to take a very lively interest : the vindication of the ancient lineage of his maternal ancestors, the Dudleys. It was pretended, as we are told, that the duke of Northumberland's father was not the son of John Dudley, a younger son of John Sutton, lord Dudley ; but of a

* It was here that the story of the murder of his first wife was originally published, which Sir Walter Scott has made the subject of his delightful tale of Kenilworth. The novelist has adhered strictly to the facts as they are stated in the annals of the times, and in Ashmole's Berkshire, and Lyson's Magna Britannia.

totally different person of the same name, who was a Sussex mechanic. When this is taken into account, and when we farther recollect the strong prejudices of his age in favor of unsullied descent, we may pardon our author much of the diffuseness and acrimony into which his wounded feelings have here betrayed him. It was, in fact assailing him on the very point from which his pride of birth derived its principal delight, and towards which he seems to have looked back as the surest support of his pretensions to hereditary distinction. "I am a Dudley in blood," he exclaims, "the duke's daughter's son — my chiefest honor is, to be a Dudley." But it is to be regretted that he did not apply himself with more minuteness and patience to lord Leicester's exculpation, and that he contented himself with pointing out a few of the inconsistencies and contradictions into which the libeller had fallen.

About the crisis of Sidney's life at which we have now arrived, he was inspired by an ardent desire to associate himself in a voyage of discovery with those hardy adventurers who were just beginning to exhibit that reckless intrepidity and skill, through which the navy of England has since covered itself with glory. His active mind had long led him to take a warm interest in the discoveries and projects of Sir Martin Frobisher and his comrades. We see him withal expressing, in a letter to Sir Edward Stafford, dated July 21, 1584, a sort of half inclination to join his fortunes with those of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in a design, which the latter had for a considerable while meditated, of planting a colony in some unknown

country : and in 1585 Sir Philip conceived the idea of conducting an expedition to attack the Spanish settlements in South America, conjointly with Sir Francis Drake, who had previously circumnavigated the globe, and acquired considerable riches and great celebrity from his achievements. In the present instance, however, Sidney had undertaken to equip the necessary armament with the assistance of thirty gentlemen "of great blood and state," whom he had won over to his cause, each having agreed to contribute the sum of one hundred pounds. He had likewise determined to take upon himself a principal share in the command as soon as the fleet should have quitted the shores of England, an office for which we should imagine his habits and acquirements hitherto could have done little to qualify him. Fulke Greville was the confidant, and had consented to become the companion, of his enterprise : and all their measures were concerted with the utmost secrecy and circumspection. Yet their preparations did not escape the prying eyes of Elizabeth ; and her acuteness was probably assisted by private information from Drake, who appears to have become dissatisfied with the division of power to which, at the outset of the business, he had most cordially acceded. A peremptory despatch, accordingly, came down from the court to Plymouth; whither Sir Philip had conveyed himself to be in readiness for sailing, forbidding his departure, and commanding his immediate return to his family. But so determined was he to carry his designs into effect, that he caused the government messenger to be forcibly deprived, on his journey, by

two soldiers in disguise, of the letters of recall with which he had been entrusted. This violent measure, however, was attended with no advantage to our author's schemes; for an order was delivered to him personally, by a peer of the realm, holding out, on the one hand, the most severe threats of displeasure if he continued to persist in executing his projects; and, on the other, promising him an employment under his uncle in the Low Countries, provided he yielded a dutiful and instant obedience to the mandate of his sovereign. In such circumstances, therefore, no expedient was left for his adoption, but to pursue, quietly, the course thus chalked out by the higher powers.

The queen certainly now owed him some distinguished appointment; especially, if it should be true, as has been often asserted, that she also prevented him, at this epoch, from being advanced to the regal dignity by the people of Poland. The crown of that kingdom, in which the monarchy was elective, had become vacant by the death of Stephen Bathori, the prince of Transylvania; and it is related that Sir Philip Sidney was put in nomination by the states, and might have possessed a fair chance of success, had Elizabeth condescended to further or support his pretensions. But, according to Sir Robert Naunton, she was indisposed to the measure "not only out of emulation, but out of fear to lose the jewel of her times": and, if Fuller may be believed to report more than the empty language of courtesy, our author was infinitely better pleased to be a subject of his present mistress "than a sovereign beyond the seas."

Her majesty having taken the Protestants of the Netherlands under her protection in 1585, and promised to despatch a military force to their succour, Sir Philip Sidney was in that year nominated the governor of Flushing. This place, from its advantageous position close to the mouth of the Scheld, was then considered to be one of the most important posts in the whole range of the United Provinces. Our author set out to enter upon the duties of his new situation, actuated by an anxious zeal for the interests which had been committed to his charge ; and on the 18th of November he arrived at his destination, and was received with the respect to which his eminence and character entitled him. He was instantly declared colonel of all the Dutch regiments ; and captain of two hundred English foot, and one hundred cavalry. He was soon afterwards followed by lord Leicester, in command of a numerous reinforcement of auxiliary troops ; and Sidney was straightway promoted to the rank of general of the horse under his uncle.

The earl was very inadequate to fulfil the important offices which he had undertaken ; and his operations were therefore conducted with singular indiscreetness and want of success. He was indebted, however, to his nephew for many prudent and salutary counsels ; and for several instances of skilful and fortunate enterprise. It was by Sidney that the town of Axell was surprised and escaladed without the loss of so much as a single man : and if he failed, as he did, in seizing Steenburg and Graveling, he was baffled by accidents which no degree of fore-

sight could have anticipated. In the one case a sudden thaw occasioned the miscarriage of his assault; and in the other he was overreached by the treachery of the governor of the town, who had promised to deliver it up to him, as soon as the allied army should advance to the attack.

Sir Philip's father died on the 5th of May, and his mother on the 9th of August, 1586. But these domestic calamities he was not suffered long to deplore; for the premature termination of his own brilliant career was now close at hand. On the twenty-second of the succeeding September a small detachment of the English, consisting of little more than five hundred men, encountered a convoy of the enemy amounting to three thousand troops, who were on their march to relieve Zutphen, a town in Guelderland, situated on the banks of the river Issel. A fierce and obstinate engagement, under the very walls of this fortress, was the result. The English, notwithstanding their great disparity in point of numbers, were completely victorious: but they considered their triumph was dearly purchased by the death of Sir Philip Sidney, the most distinguished hero of that hard-fought field. Early in the battle he had a horse killed under him, and had mounted another; he had, with daring intrepidity, rescued lord Willoughby from the most imminent peril, and gallantly charged his opponents three times in one skirmish; when he received a musket-shot, from the trenches, a little above his left knee, which "so brake and rifted the bone, and so entered the thigh upward, as the bullet could not be found

before the body was opened." An eccentric feeling of emulation, caused by his having met the marshal of the camp only lightly-armed, had induced Sir Philip to throw off his cuisses before going into action, and thus to leave exposed the parts of his frame which they protected, and where the ball from which he suffered unhappily took effect.

While he was retiring from the place of combat a circumstance occurred that strongly evinced the natural excellence of his disposition, and which the late president West made the subject of a celebrated historical painting. It is recorded as follows by the affectionate pen of lord Brooke. "The horse he rode upon," he says, "was rather furiously choleric, than bravely proud, and so forced him to forsake the field, but not his back, as the noblest and fittest bier to carry a martial commander to his grave. In which sad progress, passing along by the rest of the army where his uncle the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for drink, which was presently brought him; but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle. Which Sir Philip perceiving, took it from his head, before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man, with these words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.' " *

* This affecting scene supplied the late Benjamin West with the subject of one of his most interesting pictures. See a description of it in Zouch's *Life of Sidney*, page 385.

The earl of Leicester's grief, on account of the catastrophe which had befallen his nephew, was of the most passionate description. A letter of his to Sir Thomas Heneage, dated 23rd September, the day after the engagement, has been preserved and printed in the noble lord's memoirs, prefixed to the Sidney papers. In it he details the mode in which our author received his fatal injury; and then proceeds to declare that this young man was his greatest comfort, next her majesty, of all the world; and, that if he could buy his life with all he had, to his shirt, he would give it. "How God will dispose of him," he continues, "I know not; but fear I must needs, greatly, the worst; the blow in so dangerous a place and so great; yet did I never hear of any man that did abide the dressing and setting his bones better than he did: and he was carried afterwards in my barge to Arnheim, and I hear this day, he is still of good heart, and comforteth all about him as much as may be. God of his mercy grant him his life, which I cannot but doubt of greatly. I was abroad that time in the field, giving some order to supply that business, which did endure almost two hours in continual fight; and meeting Philip coming upon his horseback, not a little to my grief. But I would you had stood by to hear his most loyal speeches to her majesty; his constant mind to the cause, his loving care over me, and his most resolute determination for death, not a jot appalled for his blow, which is the most grievous that ever I saw with such a bullet; riding so long, a mile and a half, upon his horse, ere he came to the camp; not ceasing to speak still of her majesty; being glad

if his hurt and death might any way honor her ; for hers he was whilst he lived, and God's he was sure to be if he died: prayed all men to think that the cause was as well her majesty's as the country's ; and not to be discouraged, 'for you have seen such success as may encourage us all ; and this my hurt is the ordinance of God by the hap of the war.' Well, I pray God, if it be his will, save me his life ; even as well for her majesty's service sake, as for mine own comfort."

His lordship's affectionate entreaties to the throne of mercy were unavailing. It is supposed that the bullet from which Sidney suffered had been poisoned. After lingering sixteen days in severe and unceasing pain, which he endured with all the fortitude and resignation of a Christian, symptoms of mortification, the certain forerunner of death, at length appeared, and Sir Philip then prepared, with undiminished and cheerful serenity, for his approaching dissolution. Though he was himself the first to perceive the fatal indications which the seat of his disease had begun to exhibit, he was able to amuse his sick-bed by composing an ode, unfortunately now lost, on the nature of his wound, which he caused to be sung to solemn music, as an entertainment that might soothe and divert his mind from his torments. In the course of his illness, too, he introduced a topic of conversation, the most serious and the most sublime that can engage the attention of man—the immortality of the soul. Every thing was done for him that medical skill could suggest, or the solicitude of his friends and the tenderness of his amiable wife, who had ac-

accompanied him into Zealand, could supply : but on the 16th day of October his complaints reached their crisis, and his gentle spirit took its flight to a world more worthy of its virtues. He breathed his last sigh in the arms of one whom he had long loved, his faithful secretary and bosom companion, Mr. William Temple.

His address to his brother when he bade him a final adieu, is a noble outpouring of the heart, and is characterized by those many amiable sentiments and qualities which had dignified his conduct through life, and endeared him to society wherever it had been his fortune to wander. "Love my memory," he said, "cherish my friends ; their faith to me may assure you they are honest. But above all, govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator ; in me beholding the end of this world, with all her vanities."

Thus perished, in the very prime of his days, and the zenith of his hopes, the man who was above all others the idol of his times, — "the soldier's, scholar's, courtier's, eye, tongue, sword." He was in many respects at once the Marcellus and the Mæcenas of the English nation. He was the intimate friend and most liberal benefactor of Spenser ; and that preëminent bard repaid his debt of gratitude and affection, by composing a pathetic elegy, wherein he bewailed his patron under Sidney's favorite and celebrated appellation of Astrophel. The two universities, also, poured forth three volumes of learned lamentations, on account of the loss of him whom they considered as being their brightest ornament : and indeed so far

was the public regret, on this occasion, carried, that, for the first time in the case of a private individual, the whole kingdom went into mourning, and no gentleman of quality, during several months, ventured to appear in a light-colored or gaudy dress, either in the resorts of business or of fashion. Certainly public affliction never did honor to a more amiable object; nor did the muses ever shed their tears over the hearse of one who was more fervently devoted to their service; for his whole life, as it has been beautifully remarked by Campbell, was poetry put into action.

"Gentle Sir Philip Sidney," says Tom Nash in two sweetly-flowing sentences of his *Pierce Penniless*, "thou knewest what belonged to a scholar; thou knewest what pains, what toil, what travel, conduct to perfection: well couldst thou give every virtue his encouragement, every art his due, every writer his desert, 'cause none more virtuous, witty, or learned than thyself. But thou art dead in thy grave, and hast left too few successors of thy glory, too few to cherish the sons of the muses, or water those budding hopes with their plenty, which thy bounty erst planted."

"Indeed," observes lord Brooke, "he was a true model of worth; a man fit for conquest, plantation, reformation, or what action soever is greatest and hardest amongst men: withal such a lover of mankind, and goodness, that whosoever had any real parts, in him found comfort, participation, and protection to the utmost of his power; like Zephyrus, he giving life where he blew. The universities, abroad and

at home, accounted him a general Mæcenas of learning; dedicated their books to him; and communicated every invention or improvement of knowledge with him. Soldiers honored him, and were so honored by him, as no man thought he marched under the true banner of Mars, that had not obtained Sir Philip Sidney's approbation. Men of affairs, in most parts of Christendom, entertained correspondence with him. But what speak I of these, with whom his own ways and ends did concur? since, to descend, his heart and capacity were so large, that there was not a cunning painter, a skilful engineer, an excellent musician, or any other artificer of extraordinary fame, that made not himself known to this famous spirit, and found him his true friend without hire, and the common rendezvous of worth in his time. Besides, the ingenuity of his nature did spread itself so freely abroad, as who lives that can say he ever did him harm; whereas there be many living that may thankfully acknowledge he did them good. Neither was this in him a private, but a public affection; his chief ends being, not friends, wife, children, and himself, but above all things the honor of his Maker, and the service of his prince or country."

"But Philip," observes the venerable Camden, speaking of the family of the Sidneys, "is not to be omitted here without an unpardonable crime; the great glory of that family, the great hopes of mankind, the most lively pattern of virtue, and the darling of the learned world. This is that Sidney, who as Providence seems to have sent him into the world

to give the present age a specimen of the ancients; so did it, on a sudden, recall him, and snatch him from us, as more worthy of heaven than earth: thus where virtue comes to perfection it is gone in a trice, and the best things are never lasting. Rest then in peace, O Sidney, (if I may be allowed this address,) we will not celebrate your memory with tears, but admiration; whatever we loved in you, (as the best of authors speaks of that best governor of Britain,*) whatever we admired in you, still continues, and will continue in the memories of men, the revolutions of ages, and the annals of time. Many, as inglorious and ignoble, are buried in oblivion; but Sidney shall live to all posterity. For, as the Grecian poet has it, virtue's beyond the reach of fate."

"He was not only of an excellent wit," relates, in his own confused and rambling way, the eminent antiquarian John Aubrey, who was born not more than forty years after Sidney's decease, "but extremely beautiful; he much resembled his sister, but his hair was not red, but a little inclining; viz. a dark amber color. If I were to find a fault in it, methinks 't is not masculine enough; yet he was a person of great courage. He was much at Wilton with his sister, and at Ivy church, (anciently a pleasant monastery, which adjoins to the park pale of Clarendon park,) situated on a hill that overlooks all the country westwards and north, over Sarum and the plains, and into that delicious park (which was accounted the best of England) eastwards. It was, heretofore, a monas-

* Tacitus of Agricola.

tery; the cloisters remain still; 't was called 'Cenobium Edrosium.' My great uncle, Mr. T. Browne, remembered him, and said that he was wont to take his table-book out of his pockets, and write down his notions as they came into his head, when he was writing his *Arcadia*, (which was never finished by him,) as he was hunting on our pleasant plains. He was the reviver of poetry in those dark times, which was then at a very low ebb. He was of a very munificent spirit, and liberal to all lovers of learning, and to those that pretended to any acquaintance with Parnassus; in so much that he was cloyed and surfeited with the poetasters of those days."

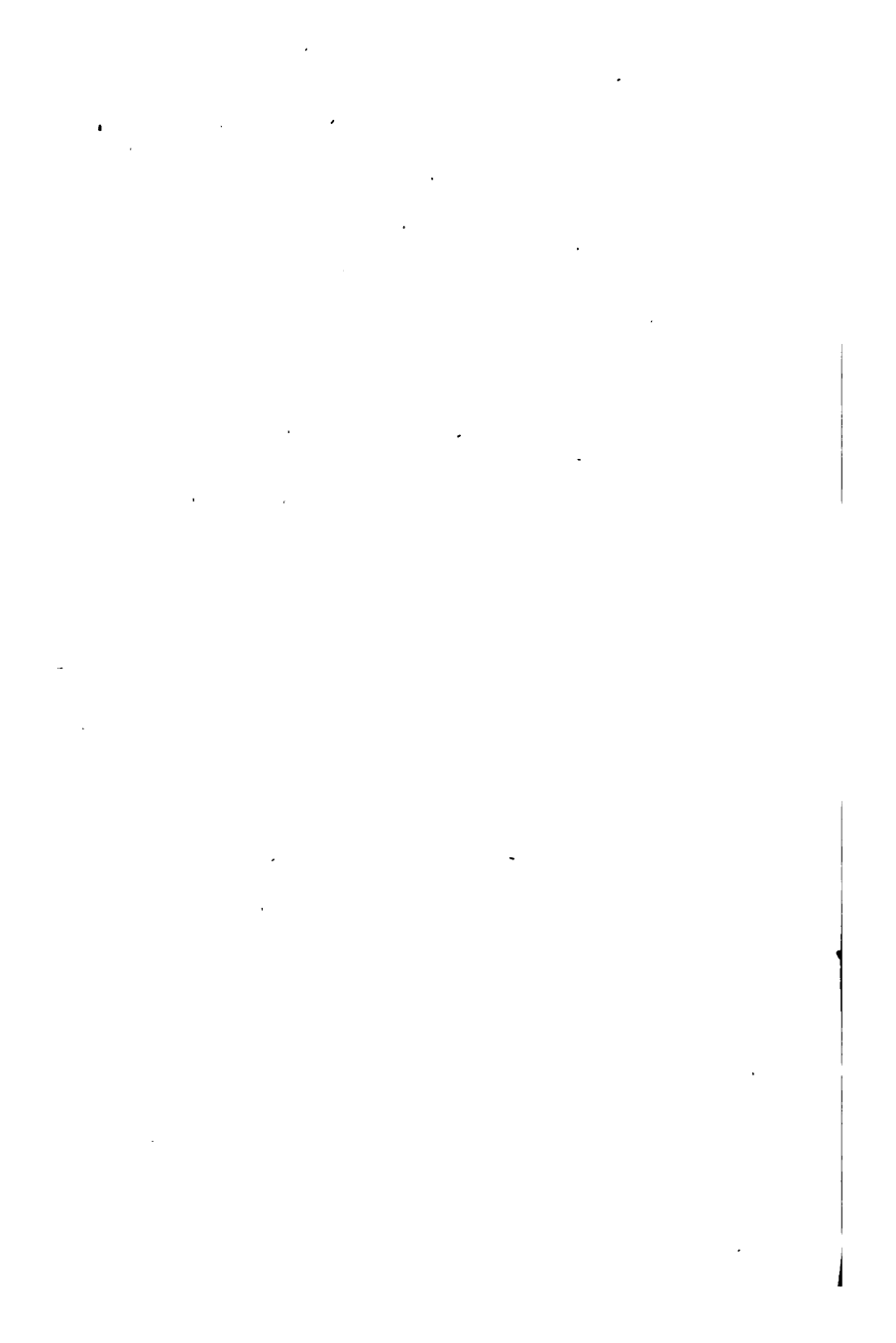
"He was, if ever there was one," says the eloquent writer in the *Retrospective Review* already quoted, "a gentleman finished and complete, in whom mildness was associated with courage, erudition mollified by refinement, and courtliness dignified by truth. He exalted his country in the eyes of other nations, and the country he honored will not be ungrateful. England will ever place him amongst the noblest of her sons, and the light of chivalry, which was his guide and beacon, will ever lend its radiance to illuminate his tombstone, and consecrate his memory. Let us remember that he died at the age of thirty-two; and, if the lives of Milton and Dryden had not been prolonged beyond that period, where would have been their renown, or where the poetical renown of their country." *

* Had we not looked upon it as somewhat like "gilding refined gold," we might have extended these ex-

Sir Philip's body was brought to London and interred in St. Paul's Cathedral, notwithstanding the subjects of his late government entreated with the utmost earnestness that it might be suffered to remain among them, and, according to the continuator of Hollinshed, even offered, should their request be granted, "to erect for him as fair a monument as any prince had in Christendom, yea, though the same should cost half a ton of gold the building." His funeral was performed with great circumstance and pomp, the seven United Provinces sending each a representative to testify respect for his memory by their vicarious presence at his obsequies. A simple tablet, which has long been removed, was put up in the choir of St. Paul's, bearing the subjoined inscription imitated from the French of Isaac du Bellay.

"England, Netherlands, the heavens, and the arts,
The soldiers, and the world, have made six parts
Of the noble Sidney : for none will suppose,
That a small heap of stones can Sidney enclose.
His body hath England, for she it bred ;
Netherlands his blood, in her defence shed ;
The heavens have his soul, the arts his fame ;
All soldiers the grief, the world his good name."

tracts from distinguished writers in commendation of the subject of our memoir to a much greater length. According to Mr. Todd, Oldys asserts, in his manuscript additions to Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, that he could muster up two hundred authors who had spoken in praise of Sir Philip Sidney.



THE DEFENCE OF POESY.

THE Defence of Poesy was most probably written about 1581. The first edition of it was printed in 4to in 1595, with the title, "The Apologie of Poetrie"; and it was annexed to the third edition of the Arcadia in 1598. When Shakspeare's first play was composed, is a point which has exercised the ingenuity, rather than rewarded the diligence, of his numerous commentators. But it is pretty clearly ascertained that nothing of his was printed before 1597, when Romeo and Juliet, and Richard the Second and Third appeared. Spenser is conjectured to have begun his Fairy Queen about 1580.

THE
DEFENCE OF POESY.

WHEN the right virtuous E. W.* and I were at the Emperor's court together, we gave ourselves to learn horsemanship of Gio. Pietro Pugliano ; one that, with great commendation, had the place of an esquire in his stable : and he, according to the fertility of the Italian wit, did not only afford us the demonstration of his

* This was Edward, the elder brother of Sir Henry Wotton. His name appeared at full length in the first edition of the Defence, and the initials were only substituted in the second, which accompanied the Arcadia. By Queen Elizabeth he was knighted in 1592, and nominated comptroller of her household ; besides being honored with various diplomatic employments at foreign courts. By James the First he was created lord Wotton, baron of Maherly in Kent, and appointed lord lieutenant of that county.

practice, but sought to enrich our minds with the contemplation therein, which he thought most precious. But with none, I remember, mine ears were at any time more laden, than when (either angered with slow payment, or moved with our learner-like admiration,) he exercised his speech in the praise of his faculty.

He said, soldiers were the noblest estate of mankind, and horsemen the noblest of soldiers. He said, they were the masters of war, and ornaments of peace, speedy goers, and strong abiders, triumphers both in camps and courts: nay, to so unbelieved a point he proceeded, as that no earthly thing bred such wonder to a prince, as to be a good horseman: skill of government was but a "pedanteria" in comparison. Then would he add certain praises, by telling what a peerless beast the horse was, the only serviceable courtier, without flattery, the beast of most beauty, faithfulness, courage, and such more, that if I had not been a piece of a logician before I came to him, I think he would have persuaded me to have wished myself a horse. But thus much, at least, with his no few words, he drove into me, that self-love is better than any gilding, to make that seem gorgeous wherein ourselves be parties.

Wherein, if Pugliano's strong affection and weak arguments will not satisfy you, I will give

you a nearer example of myself, who, I know not by what mischance, in these my not old years and idlest times, having slipped into the title of a poet, am provoked to say something unto you in the defence of that my unelected vocation ; which if I handle with more good will than good reasons, bear with me, since the scholar is to be pardoned that followeth the steps of his master.

And yet I must say, that as I have more just cause to make a pitiful defence of poor poetry, which, from almost the highest estimation of learning, is fallen to be the laughing-stock of children ; so have I need to bring some more available proofs, since the former is by no man barred of his deserved credit, whereas the silly latter hath had even the names of philosophers used to the defacing of it, with great danger of civil war among the muses.

And first, truly, to all them that, professing learning, inveigh against poetry, may justly be objected, that they go very near to ungratefulness to seek to deface that, which, in the noblest nations and languages that are known, hath been the first light-giver to ignorance, and first nurse, whose milk, by little and little, enabled them to feed afterwards of tougher knowledges. And will you play the hedge-hog, that being received into the den, drove out his host ?

or rather the vipers, that with their birth kill their parents?

Let learned Greece, in any of her manifold sciences, be able to show me one book before Musæus, Homer, and Hesiod, all three nothing else but poets. Nay, let any history be brought, that can say any writers were there before them, if they were not men of the same skill, as Orpheus, Linus, and some others are named, who having been the first of that country that made pens deliverers of their knowledge to posterity, may justly challenge to be called their fathers in learning. For not only in time they had this priority, (although in itself antiquity be venerable,) but went before them, as causes to draw, with their charming sweetness, the wild untamed wits to an admiration of knowledge. So as Amphion was said to move stones with his poetry to build Thebes, and Orpheus to be listened to by beasts; indeed stony and beastly people: so among the Romans were Livius Andronicus, and Ennius: so in the Italian language, the first that made it to aspire to be a treasure-house of science, were the poets Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch: so in our English were Gower and Chaucer; after whom, encouraged and delighted with their excellent foregoing, others have followed to beautify our mother tongue, as well in the same kind, as other arts.

This did so notably show itself, that the philosophers of Greece durst not a long time appear to the world but under the mask of poets : so Thales, Empedocles, and Parmenides sang their natural philosophy in verses : so did Pythagoras and Phocylides their moral counsels ; so did Tyrtaeus in war matters ; and Solon in matters of policy ; or rather they, being poets, did exercise their delightful vein in those points of highest knowledge, which before them lay hidden to the world : for that wise Solon was directly a poet, it is manifest, having written, in verse, the notable fable of the Atlantic island, which was continued by Plato. And, truly, even Plato, whosoever well considereth, shall find, that in the body of his work, though the inside and strength were philosophy, the skin, as it were, and beauty, depended most of poetry. For all stands upon dialogues ; wherein he feigns many honest burgesses of Athens speaking of such matters, that if they had been set on the rack, they would never have confessed them : besides, his poetical describing the circumstances of their meetings, as the well ordering of a banquet, the delicacy of a walk, with interlacing mere tales, as Gyges's Ring, and others ; which, who knows not to be flowers of poetry ; did never walk into Apollo's garden.

And even historiographers, although their lips sound of things done, and verity be written in their foreheads, have been glad to borrow both fashion and, perchance, weight of the poets : so Herodótus entitled the books of his history by the names of the nine muses ; and both he, and all the rest that followed him, either stole or usurped, of poetry, their passionate describing of passions, the many particularities of battles which no man could affirm ; or, if that be denied me, long orations, put in the mouths of great kings and captains, which, it is certain, they never pronounced.

So that, truly, neither philosopher nor historiographer could, at the first, have entered into the gates of popular judgments, if they had not taken a great disport of poetry ; which in all nations, at this day, where learning flourisheth not, is plain to be seen ; in all which they have some feeling of poetry. In Turkey, besides their lawgiving divines they have no other writers but poets. In our neighbour-country Ireland, where, truly, learning goes very bare, yet are their poets held in a devout reverence. Even among the most barbarous and simple Indians, where no writing is, yet have they their poets, who make and sing songs, which they call " arentos," both of their ancestors' deeds and praises of their gods. A sufficient proba-

bility, that if ever learning come among them, it must be by having their hard dull wits softened and sharpened with the sweet delight of poetry ; for until they find a pleasure in the exercise of the mind, great promises of much knowledge will little persuade them that know not the fruits of knowledge. In Wales, the true remnant of the ancient Britons, as there are good authorities to show the long time they had poets, which they called bards, so through all the conquests of Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, some of whom did seek to ruin all memory of learning from among them, yet do their poets, even to this day, last ; so as it is not more notable in the soon beginning, than in long continuing.

But since the authors of most of our sciences were the Romans, and, before them, the Greeks, let us, a little, stand upon their authorities ; but even so far as to see what names they have given unto this now scorned skill. Among the Romans, a poet was called "vates," which is as much as a diviner, foreseer, or prophet, as by his conjoined words "vaticinium," and "vaticinari," is manifest ; so heavenly a title did that excellent people bestow upon this heart-ravishing knowledge ! And so far were they carried into the admiration thereof, that they thought in the changeable hitting upon any such verses,

great foretokens of their following fortunes were placed. Whereupon grew the word of "*sortes Virgilianæ*"; when, by sudden opening of Virgil's book, they lighted upon some verse, as it is reported by many, whereof the histories of the emperors' lives are full: as of Albinus, the governor of our island, who, in his childhood, met with this verse,

"*Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis;*"

and in his age performed it. Although it were a very vain and godless superstition; as also it was, to think spirits were commanded by such verses: whereupon this word charms, derived of "*carmina*," cometh, so yet serveth it to show the great reverence those wits were held in; and altogether not without ground, since both the oracles of Delphi and the Sibyl's prophecies were wholly delivered in verses; for that same exquisite observing of number and measure in the words, and that high-flying liberty of conceit proper to the poet, did seem to have some divine force in it.

And may not I presume a little farther, to show the reasonableness of this word "*vates*," and say, that the holy David's Psalms are a divine poem? If I do, I shall not do it without the testimony of great learned men, both ancient and modern. But even the name of Psalms will speak for me, which, being inter-

puted, is nothing but Songs : then, that it is fully written in metre, as all learned Hebricians agree, although the rules be not yet fully found. Lastly, and principally, his handling his prophecy, which is merely poetical. For what else is the awaking his musical instruments ; the often and free changing of persons ; his notable *prosopopœias*, when he maketh you, as it were, see God coming in his majesty ; his telling of the beasts' joyfulness, and hills leaping, but a heavenly poesy ; wherein, almost, he showeth himself a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty, to be seen by the eyes of the mind, only cleared by faith ? But, truly, now, having named him, I fear I seem to profane that holy name, applying it to poetry, which is, among us, thrown down to so ridiculous an estimation. But they that, with quiet judgments, will look a little deeper into it, shall find the end and working of it such, as, being rightly applied, deserveth not to be scourged out of the church of God.

But now let us see how the Greeks have named it, and how they deemed of it. The Greeks named him ποιητήν, which name hath, as the most excellent, gone through other languages ; it cometh of this word ποιεῖν, which is "to make" ; wherein, I know not whether by luck or wisdom, we Englishmen have met with

the Greeks in calling him "a maker," which name, how high and incomparable a title it is, I had rather were known by marking the scope of other sciences, than by any partial allegation. There is no art delivered unto mankind, that hath not the works of nature for his principal object, without which they could not consist, and on which they so depend, as they become actors and players, as it were, of what nature will have set forth. So doth the astronomer look upon the stars, and by that he seeth set down what order nature hath taken therein. So doth the geometrician and arithmetician, in their diverse sorts of quantities. So doth the musician, in times, tell you, which by nature agree, which not. The natural philosopher thereon hath his name; and the moral philosopher standeth upon the natural virtues, vices, or passions of man: and follow nature, saith he, therein, and thou shalt not err. The lawyer saith what men have determined. The historian, what men have done. The grammarian speaketh only of the rules of speech; and the rhetorician and logician, considering what in nature will soonest prove and persuade, thereon give artificial rules, which still are compassed within the circle of a question, according to the proposed matter. The physician weigheth the nature of man's body, and the

nature of things helpful and hurtful unto it. And the metaphysic, though it be in the second and abstract notions, and therefore be counted supernatural, yet doth he, indeed, build upon the depth of nature. Only the poet, disdaining to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow, in effect, into another nature : in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or quite anew ; forms such as never were in nature, as the heroes, demi-gods, cyclops, chimeras, furies, and such like ; so as he goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging within the zodiac of his own wit. Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done ; neither with so pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too-much-loved earth more lovely ; her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden.

But let those things alone, and go to man ; for whom as the other things are, so it seemeth in him her uttermost cunning is employed ; and know, whether she have brought forth so true a lover as Theagenes ; so constant a friend as Pylades ; so valiant a man as Orlando ; so right a prince as Xenophon's Cyrus ; and so excellent a man every way as Virgil's Æneas ?

Neither let this be jestingly conceived, because the works of the one be essential, the other in imitation or fiction ; for every understanding knoweth the skill of each artificer standeth in that idea, or fore-conceit of the work, and not in the work itself. And that the poet hath that idea is manifest, by the delivering them forth in such excellency as he had imagined them : which delivering forth, also, is not wholly imaginative, as we are wont to say by them that build castles in the air ; but so far substantially it worketh, not only to make a Cyrus, which had been but a particular excellency, as nature might have done ; but to bestow a Cyrus upon the world to make many Cyruses ; if they will learn aright, why, and how, that maker made him. Neither let it be deemed too saucy a comparison, to balance the highest point of man's wit with the efficacy of nature ; but rather give right honor to the heavenly Maker of that maker, who, having made man to his own likeness, set him beyond and over all the works of that second nature ; which in nothing he showeth so much as in poetry ; when, with the force of a divine breath, he bringeth things forth surpassing her doings, with no small arguments to the incredulous of that first accursed fall of Adam ; since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected

will keepeth us from reaching unto it. But these arguments will by few be understood, and by fewer granted : thus much I hope will be given me, that the Greeks, with some probability of reason, gave him the name above all names of learning.

Now let us go to a more ordinary opening of him, that the truth may be the more palpable ; and so, I hope, though we get not so unmatched a praise as the etymology of his names will grant, yet his very description, which no man will deny, shall not justly be barred from a principal commendation.

Poesy, therefore, is an art of imitation ; for so Aristotle termeth it in the word *μιμησις* ; that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth : to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture ; with this end, to teach and delight.

Of this have been three general kinds ; the chief, both in antiquity and excellency, were they that did imitate the inconceivable excellencies of God : such were David in his Psalms ; Solomon in his Song of Songs, in his Ecclesiastes, and Proverbs ; Moses and Deborah in their hymns ; and the writer of Job ; which, beside others, the learned Emanuel Tremellius and Fr. Junius do entitle the poetical part of the scripture : against these none will speak that

hath the Holy Ghost in due holy reverence. In this kind, though in a wrong divinity, were Orpheus, Amphion, Homer in his Hymns, and many others, both Greeks and Romans. And this poesy must be used by whosoever will follow St. Paul's counsel, in singing psalms when they are merry ; and I know is used with the fruit of comfort by some, when, in sorrowful pangs of their death-bringing sins, they find the consolation of the never-leaving goodness.

The second kind is of them that deal with matter philosophical ; either moral, as Tyrtaeus, Phocylides, Cato ; or natural, as Lucretius, Virgil's Georgics ; or astronomical, as Manilius and Pontanus ; or historical, as Lucan ; which who mislike, the fault is in their judgment, quite out of taste, and not in the sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge.

But because this second sort is wrapped within the fold of the proposed subject, and takes not the free course of his own invention ; whether they properly be poets, or no, let grammarians dispute, and go to the third, indeed right poets, of whom chiefly this question ariseth : betwixt whom and these second is such a kind of difference, as betwixt the meaner sort of painters, who counterfeit only such faces as are set before them ; and the more excellent, who having no law but wit, bestow that

in colors upon you which is fittest for the eye to see ; as the constant, though lamenting look of Lucretia, when she punished in herself another's fault : wherein he painteth not Lucretia, whom he never saw, but painteth the outward beauty of such a virtue. For these three be they which most properly do imitate to teach and delight ; and to imitate, borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be ; but range only, reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be, and should be. These be they, that, as the first and most noble sort, may justly be termed "vates" : so these are waited on in the excellentest languages and best understandings, with the fore-described name of poets. For these, indeed, do merely make to imitate, and imitate both to delight and teach, and delight to move men to take that goodness in hand, which, without delight, they would fly as from a stranger ; and teach to make them know that goodness whereunto they are moved : which being the noblest scope to which ever any learning was directed, yet want there not idle tongues to bark at them.

These be subdivided into sundry more special denominations : the most notable be the heroic, lyric, tragic, comic, satiric, iambic, elegiac, pastoral, and certain others ; some of these be-

ing termed according to the matter they deal with ; some by the sort of verse they liked best to write in ; for indeed the greatest part of poets have apparelled their poetical inventions in that numerous kind of writing which is called verse. Indeed but apparelled verse, being but an ornament, and no cause to poetry, since there have been many most excellent poets that never versified, and now swarm many versifiers that need never answer to the name of poets. For Xenophon, who did imitate so excellently as to give us "effigiem justi imperii," the portraiture of a just empire, under the name of Cyrus, as Cicero saith of him, made therein an absolute heroical poem. So did Heliodorus, in his sugared invention of that picture of love in Theagenes and Chariclea ; and yet both these wrote in prose ; which I speak to show, that it is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet ; (no more than a long gown maketh an advocate, who, though he pleaded in armor, should be an advocate and no soldier ;) but it is, that feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by. Although indeed the senate of poets have chosen verse as their fittest raiment ; meaning, as in matter they passed all in all, so in manner to go beyond them ; not speaking,

table-talk fashion, or like men in a dream, words as they chanceably fall from the mouth, but piecing each syllable of each word by just proportion, according to the dignity of the subject.

Now, therefore, it shall not be amiss, first, to weigh this latter sort of poetry by his works, and then, by his parts; and if in neither of these anatomies he be commendable, I hope we shall receive a more favorable sentence. This purifying of wit, this enriching of memory, enabling of judgment, and enlarging of conceit, which commonly we call learning, under what name soever it come forth, or to what immediate end soever it be directed; the final end is, to lead and draw us to as high a perfection as our degenerate souls, made worse by their clay lodgings, can be capable of. This, according to the inclination of man, bred many formed impressions: for some that thought this felicity principally to be gotten by knowledge, and no knowledge to be so high or heavenly as to be acquainted with the stars, gave themselves to astronomy; others, persuading themselves to be demi-gods, if they knew the causes of things, became natural and supernatural philosophers. Some an admirable delight drew to music; and some the certainty of demonstrations to the mathematics; but all, one and oth-

er, having this scope, to know, and by knowledge to lift up the mind from the dungeon of the body to the enjoying his own divine essence. But when, by the balance of experience, it was found that the astronomer, looking to the stars, might fall in a ditch; that the inquiring philosopher might be blind in himself; and the mathematician might draw forth a straight line with a crooked heart; then lo! did proof, the overruler of opinions, make manifest, that all these are but serving sciences, which, as they have a private end in themselves, so yet are they all directed to the highest end of the mistress-knowledge, by the Greeks called ἀρχιτεκτονική, which stands, as I think, in the knowledge of a man's self; in the ethic and politic consideration, with the end of well-doing, and not of well-knowing only: even as the saddler's next end is to make a good saddle, but his farther end, to serve a nobler faculty, which is horsemanship; so the horseman's to soldiery; and the soldier not only to have the skill, but to perform the practice of a soldier. So that the ending end of all earthly learning being virtuous action, those skills that most serve to bring forth that, have a most just title to be princes over all the rest; wherein, if we can show it rightly, the poet is worthy to have it before any other competitors.

Among whom principally to challenge it, step forth the moral philosophers ; whom, methinks, I see coming toward me with a sullen gravity, (as though they could not abide vice by daylight,) rudely clothed, for to witness outwardly their contempt of outward things, with books in their hands against glory, whereto they set their names ; sophistically speaking against subtlety, and angry with any man in whom they see the foul fault of anger. These men, casting largesses as they go, of definitions, divisions, and distinctions, with a scornful interrogative do soberly ask ; Whether it be possible to find any path so ready to lead a man to virtue, as that which teacheth what virtue is ; and teacheth it not only by delivering forth his very being, his causes and effects ; but also by making known his enemy, vice, which must be destroyed, and his cumbersome servant, passion, which must be mastered ; by showing the generalities that contain it, and the specialities that are derived from it : lastly, by plain setting down how it extends itself out of the limits of a man's own little world, to the government of families, and maintaining of public societies ?

The historian scarcely gives leisure to the moralist to say so much, but that he, laden with old mouse-eaten records, authorizing him-

self, for the most part, upon other histories, whose greatest authorities are built upon the notable foundation of hearsay ; having much ado to accord differing writers, and to pick truth out of partiality ; better acquainted with a thousand years ago than with the present age, and yet better knowing how this world goes than how his own wit runs ; curious for antiquities, and inquisitive of novelties, a wonder to young folks, and a tyrant in table-talk, denieth, in a great chafe, that any man for teaching of virtue and virtuous actions, is comparable to him. I am "*testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuncia vetustatis.*" "The philosopher, saith he, teacheth a disputative virtue, but I do an active ; his virtue is excellent in the dangerless academy of Plato, but mine showeth forth her honorable face in the battles of Marathon, Pharsalia, Poitiers, and Agincourt : he teacheth virtue by certain abstract considerations ; but I only bid you follow the footing of them that have gone before you : old-aged experience goeth beyond the fine-witted philosopher ; but I give the experience of many ages : lastly, if he make the song-book, I put the learner's hand to the lute ; and if he be the guide, I am the light. Then would he allege you innumerable examples, confirming story by stories, how

much the wisest senators and princes have been directed by the credit of history, as Brutus, Alphonsus of Aragon, (and who not, if need be ?) At length, the long line of their disputation makes a point in this, that the one giveth the precept, and the other the example.

Now whom shall we find, since the question standeth for the highest form in the school of learning, to be moderator ? Truly, as me seemeth, the poet ; and if not a moderator, even the man that ought to carry the title from them both, and much more from all other serving sciences. Therefore compare we the poet with the historian, and with the moral philosopher ; and if he go beyond them both, no other human skill can match him : for as for the divine, with all reverence, he is ever to be excepted, not only for having his scope as far beyond any of these, as eternity exceedeth a moment, but even for passing each of these in themselves : and for the lawyer, though " Jus " be the daughter of Justice, the chief of virtues, yet because he seeks to make men good rather " *formidine pœnæ* " than " *virtutis amore*," or, to say righter, doth not endeavour to make men good, but that their evil hurt not others, having no care, so he be a good citizen, how bad a man he be : therefore, as our wickedness maketh him necessary, and necessity maketh him hon-

orable, so is he not in the deepest truth to stand in rank with these, who all endeavour to take naughtiness away, and plant goodness even in the secretest cabinet of our souls. And these four are all that any way deal in the consideration of men's manners, which being the supreme knowledge, they that best breed it deserve the best commendation.

The philosopher, therefore, and the historian are they which would win the goal, the one by precept, the other by example; but both, not having both, do both halt. For the philosopher, setting down with thorny arguments the bare rule, is so hard of utterance, and so misty to be conceived, that one that hath no other guide but him shall wade in him until he be old, before he shall find sufficient cause to be honest. For his knowledge standeth so upon the abstract and general, that happy is that man who may understand him, and more happy, that can apply what he doth understand. On the other side, the historian, wanting the precept, is so tied, not to what should be, but to what is, to the particular truth of things, and not to the general reason of things, that his example draweth no necessary consequence, and therefore a less fruitful doctrine.

Now doth the peerless poet perform both; for whatsoever the philosopher saith should be

done, he giveth a perfect picture of it, by some one by whom he presupposeth it was done, so as he coupleth the general notion with the particular example. A perfect picture, I say ; for he yieldeth to the powers of the mind an image of that whereof the philosopher bestoweth but a wordish description, which doth neither strike, pierce, nor possess the sight of the soul, so much as that other doth. For as, in outward things, to a man that had never seen an elephant or a rhinoceros, who should tell him most exquisitely all their shape, color, bigness, and particular marks ; or of a gorgeous palace, in architecture, who, declaring the full beauties, might well make the hearer able to repeat, as it were, by rote, all he had heard, yet should never satisfy his inward conceit, with being witness to itself of a true living knowledge : but the same man, as soon as he might see those beasts well painted, or that house well in model, should straightway grow, without need of any description, to a judicial comprehending of them : so, no doubt, the philosopher, with his learned definitions, be it of virtues or vices, matters of public policy or private government, replenisheth the memory with many infallible grounds of wisdom, which, notwithstanding, lie dark before the imaginative and judging power, if they be not illuminated or figured forth by the speaking picture of poesy.

Tully taketh much pains, and many times not without poetical helps, to make us know the force love of our country hath in us. Let us but hear old Anchises, speaking in the midst of Troy's flames, or see Ulysses, in the fulness of all Calypso's delights, bewail his absence from barren and beggarly Ithaca. Anger, the Stoics said, was a short madness; let but Sophocles bring you Ajax on a stage, killing or whipping sheep and oxen, thinking them the army of Greeks, with their chieftains Agamemnon and Menelaus; and tell me, if you have not a more familiar insight into anger, than finding in the schoolmen his genus and difference? See whether wisdom and temperance in Ulysses and Diomedes, valor in Achilles, friendship in Nisus and Euryalus, even to an ignorant man, carry not an apparent shining; and contrarily, the remorse of conscience in Œdipus; the soon-repenting pride in Agamemnon; the self-devouring cruelty in his father Atreus; the violence of ambition in the two Theban brothers; the sour sweetness of revenge in Medea; and, to fall lower, the Terentian Gnatho, and our Chaucer's Pandar, so expressed, that we now use their names to signify their trades: and finally, all virtues, vices, and passions so in their own natural states laid to the view, that we seem not to hear of them, but clearly to see through them?

But even in the most excellent determination of goodness, what philosopher's counsel can so readily direct a prince as the feigned Cyrus in Xenophon? Or a virtuous man in all fortunes, as Æneas in Virgil? Or a whole commonwealth, as the way of Sir Thomas More's Utopia? I say the way, because where Sir Thomas More erred, it was the fault of the man, and not of the poet: for that way of patterning a commonwealth was most absolute, though he, perchance, hath not so absolutely performed it. For the question is, whether the feigned image of poetry, or the regular instruction of philosophy, hath the more force in teaching. Wherein, if the philosophers have more rightly showed themselves philosophers, than the poets have attained to the high top of their profession, (as in truth,

“ *Mediocribus esse poetis
Non Dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ,*”

it is, I say again, not the fault of the art, but that by few men that art can be accomplished. Certainly, even our Saviour Christ could as well have given the moral common-places of uncharitableness and humbleness, as the divine narration of Dives and Lazarus; or of disobedience and mercy, as the heavenly discourse of the lost child and the gracious father; but that his thorough searching wisdom knew the estate

of Dives burning in hell, and of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, would more constantly, as it were, inhabit both the memory and judgment. Truly, for myself, (me seems,) I see before mine eyes the lost child's disdainful prodigality turned to envy a swine's dinner : which, by the learned divines, are thought not historical acts, but instructing parables.

For conclusion, I say the philosopher teacheth, but he teacheth obscurely, so as the learned only can understand him ; that is to say, he teacheth them that are already taught. But the poet is the food for the tenderest stomachs ; the poet is, indeed, the right popular philosopher. Whereof Æsop's tales give good proof ; whose pretty allegories, stealing under the formal tales of beasts, make many, more beastly than beasts, begin to hear the sound of virtue from those dumb speakers.

But now may it be alleged, that if this managing of matters be so fit for the imagination, then must the historian needs surpass, who brings you images of true matters, such as, indeed, were done, and not such as fantastically or falsely may be suggested to have been done. Truly, Aristotle himself, in his Discourse of Poesy, plainly determineth this question, saying, that poetry is *φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον*, that is to say, it is more philosophical and more

ingenious than history. His reason is, because poesy dealeth with καθόλου, that is to say, with the universal consideration, and the history καθ' ἑκαστον, the particular. "Now," saith he, "the universal weighs what is fit to be said or done, either in likelihood or necessity; which the poesy considereth in his imposed names: and the particular only marks, whether Alcibiades did, or suffered, this or that:" thus far Aristotle. Which reason of his, as all his, is most full of reason. For, indeed, if the question were, whether it were better to have a particular act truly or falsely set down, there is no doubt which is to be chosen, no more than whether you had rather have Vespasian's picture right as he was, or, at the painter's pleasure, nothing resembling. But if the question be, for your own use and learning, whether it be better to have it set down as it should be, or as it was, then, certainly, is more doctrinable the feigned Cyrus in Xenophon, than the true Cyrus in Justin; and the feigned Æneas in Virgil, than the right Æneas in Dares Phrygius: as to a lady that desired to fashion her countenance to the best grace, a painter should more benefit her, to portraiture a most sweet face, writing Canidia upon it, than to paint Canidia as she was, who, Horace sweareth, was full ill favored. If the poet do his part aright, he

will show you in Tantalus, Atreus, and such like, nothing that is not to be shunned ; in Cyrus, Æneas, Ulysses, each thing to be followed ; where the historian, bound to tell things as things were, cannot be liberal, without he will be poetical, of a perfect pattern ; but, as in Alexander, or Scipio himself, show doings, some to be liked, some to be disliked ; and then how will you discern what to follow, but by your own discretion, which you had, without reading Q. Curtius ? And whereas a man may say, though in universal consideration of doctrine, the poet prevaiileth, yet that the history, in his saying such a thing was done, doth warrant a man more in that he shall follow ; the answer is manifest : that if he stand upon that *was*, as if he should argue, because it rained yesterday therefore it should rain to-day ; then, indeed, hath it some advantage to a gross conceit. But if he know an example only enforms a conjectured likelihood, and so go by reason, the poet doth so far exceed him, as he is to frame his example to that which is most reasonable, be it in warlike, politic, or private matters ; where the historian in his bare *was* hath many times that which we call fortune to overrule the best wisdom. Many times he must tell events whereof he can yield no cause ; or if he do, it must be poetically.

For, that a feigned example hath as much force to teach as a true example, (for as for to move, it is clear, since the feigned may be tuned to the highest key of passion,) let us take one example wherein an historian and a poet did concur. Herodotus and Justin do both testify, that Zopyrus, king Darius's faithful servant, seeing his master long resisted by the rebellious Babylonians, feigned himself in extreme disgrace of his king; for verifying of which, he caused his own nose and ears to be cut off, and so flying to the Babylonians, was received; and, for his known valor, so far credited, that he did find means to deliver them over to Darius. Much-like matters doth Livy record of Tarquinius and his son. Xenophon excellently feigned such another stratagem, performed by Abradates in Cyrus's behalf. Now would I fain know, if occasion be presented unto you, to serve your prince by such an honest dissimulation, why do you not as well learn it of Xenophon's fiction as of the other's verity? and, truly, so much the better, as you shall save your nose by the bargain; for Abradates did not counterfeit so far. So, then, the best of the historians is subject to the poet; for, whatsoever action or faction, whatsoever counsel, policy, or war-stratagem the historian is bound to recite, that may the poet, if he list,

with his imitation, make his own, beautifying it both for farther teaching, and more delighting, as it please him; having all, from Dante's heaven to his hell; under the authority of his pen. Which if I be asked, What poets have done so? as I might well name some, so yet, say I, and say again, I speak of the art, and not of the artificer.

Now, to that which commonly is attributed to the praise of history, in respect of the notable learning which is got by marking the success, as though therein a man should see virtue exalted, and vice punished: truly, that commendation is peculiar to poetry, and far off from history; for, indeed, poetry ever sets virtue so out in her best colors, making fortune her well-waiting handmaid, that one must needs be enamored of her. Well may you see Ulysses in a storm, and in other hard plights; but they are but exercises of patience and magnanimity, to make them shine the more in the near following prosperity. And, on the contrary part, if evil men come to the stage, they ever go out (as the tragedy writer answered to one that misliked the show of such persons) so manacled, as they little animate folks to follow them. But history being captived to the truth of a foolish world, is many times a terror from well-doing, and an encouragement to unbridled

wickedness. For see we not valiant Miltiades rot in his fetters? The just Phocion and the accomplished Socrates put to death like traitors? The cruel Severus live prosperously? The excellent Severus miserably murdered? Sylla and Marius dying in their beds? Pompey and Cicero slain then when they would have thought exile a happiness? See we not virtuous Cato driven to kill himself, and rebel Cæsar so advanced, that his name yet, after sixteen hundred years, lasteth in the highest honor? And mark but even Cæsar's own words of the forenamed Sylla, (who in that only did honestly, to put down his dishonest tyranny,) "*litteras nescivit*": as if want of learning caused him to do well. He meant it not by poetry, which, not content with earthly plagues, deviseth new punishments in hell for tyrants: nor yet by philosophy, which teacheth "*occidentales esse*": but, no doubt, by skill in history; for that, indeed, can afford you Cypselus, Periander, Phalaris, Dionysius, and I know not how many more of the same kennel, that sped well enough in their abominable injustice of usurpation.

I conclude, therefore, that he excelleth history, not only in furnishing the mind with knowledge, but in setting it forward to that which deserves to be called and accounted

good: which setting forward, and moving to well-doing, indeed, setteth the laurel crown upon the poets as victorious, not only of the historian, but over the philosopher, howsoever, in teaching, it may be questionable. For suppose it be granted, that which I suppose, with great reason, may be denied, that the philosopher, in respect of his methodical proceeding, teach more perfectly than the poet, yet do I think, that no man is so much φιλοφιλόσοφος, as to compare the philosopher in moving with the poet. And that moving is of a higher degree than teaching, it may by this appear, that it is well nigh both the cause and effect of teaching; for who will be taught, if he be not moved with desire to be taught? And what so much good doth that teaching bring forth (I speak still of moral doctrine) as that it moveth one to do that which it doth teach? For as Aristotle saith, it is not γνῶσις but πράξις must be the fruit: and how πράξις can be, without being moved to practise, it is no hard matter to consider. The philosopher sheweth you the way, he informeth you of the particularities, as well of the tediousness of the way and of the pleasant lodging you shall have when your journey is ended, as of the many by-turnings that may divert you from your way; but this is to no man, but to him that will read him, and

read him with attentive, studious painfulness; which constant desire whosoever hath in him, hath already passed half the hardness of the way, and therefore is beholden to the philosopher but for the other half. Nay, truly, learned men have learnedly thought, that where once reason hath so much over-mastered passion, as that the mind hath a free desire to do well, the inward light each mind hath in itself is as good as a philosopher's book : since in nature we know it is well to do well, and what is well and what is evil, although not in the words of art which philosophers bestow upon us ; for out of natural conceit the philosophers drew it : but to be moved to do that which we know, or to be moved with desire to know, "*hoc opus, hic labor est.*"

Now, therein, of all sciences (I speak still of human, and according to the human conceit,) is our poet the monarch. For he doth not only show the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way, as will entice any man to enter into it : nay, he doth, as if your journey should lie through a fair vineyard, at the very first give you a cluster of grapes, that full of that taste you may long to pass farther. He beginneth not with obscure definitions, which must blur the margin with interpretations, and load the memory with doubtfulness, but he

cometh to you with words set in delightful proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well-enchancing skill of music; and with a tale, forsooth, he cometh unto you, with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney-corner; * and, pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue; even as the child is often brought to take most wholesome things, by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant taste: which, if one should begin to tell them the nature of the aloes or rhubarbarum they should receive, would sooner take their physic at their ears than at their mouth: so is it in men; (most of whom are childish in the best things, till they be cradled in their graves;) glad they will be to hear the tales of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, Æneas; and hearing them, must needs hear the right description of wisdom, valor, and justice; which, if they had been barely (that is to say, philosophically) set out, they would swear they be brought to school again. That imitation whereof poetry is, hath the most con-

* This is conceived to have suggested Shakspeare's exquisite description,

“That elder ears played truant at his tale,
And younger hearings were quite ravished,—
So sweet and voluble was his discourse,” etc.

veniency to nature of all other : insomuch that, as Aristotle saith, those things which in themselves are horrible, as cruel battles, unnatural monsters, are made, in poetical imitation, delightful. Truly, I have known men, that even with reading *Amadis de Gaul*, which, God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect poesy, have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesy, liberality, and especially courage. Who readeth *Æneas* carrying old *Anchises* on his back, that wisheth not it were his fortune to perform so excellent an act ? Whom doth not those words of *Turnus* move (the tale of *Turnus* having planted his image in the imagination,)

————— “*fugientem hæc terra videbit ?*”

Usque adeone mori miserum est ?” — *VIRGIL*.

Where the philosophers (as they think) scorn to delight, so much they be content little to move, saving wrangling whether “*virtus*” be the chief or the only good ; whether the contemplative or the active life do excel : which *Plato* and *Boethius* well knew ; and therefore made mistress Philosophy very often borrow the masking raiment of poesy. For even those hard-hearted evil men, who think virtue a school-name, and know no other good but “*indulgere genio*,” and therefore despise the austere admonitions of the philosopher, and feel not the

inward reason they stand upon ; yet will be content to be delighted, which is all the good-fellow poet seems to promise ; and so steal to see the form of goodness, which seen, they cannot but love, ere themselves be aware, as if they took a medicine of cherries.

Infinite proofs of the strange effects of this poetical invention might be alleged ; only two shall serve, which are so often remembered, as, I think, all men know them. The one of Menenius Agrippa, who, when the whole people of Rome had resolutely divided themselves from the senate, with apparent show of utter ruin, though he were, for that time, an excellent orator, came not among them upon trust either of figurative speeches or cunning insinuations, and much less with far-fetched maxims of philosophy, which, especially if they were Platonic, they must have learned geometry before they could have conceived : but, forsooth, he behaveth himself like a homely and familiar poet. He telleth them a tale, that there was a time, when all the parts of the body made a mutinous conspiracy against the belly, which they thought devoured the fruits of each other's labor : they concluded, they would let so unprofitable a spender starve. In the end, to be short, (for the tale is notorious, and as notorious that it was a tale,) with punishing the bel-

ly they plagued themselves. This, applied by him, wrought such effect in the people, as I never read that only words brought forth; but then so sudden, and so good an alteration, for upon reasonable conditions a perfect reconciliation ensued.

The other is of Nathan the prophet, who, when the holy David had so far forsaken God, as to confirm adultery with murder, when he was to do the tenderest office of a friend, in laying his own shame before his eyes, being sent by God to call again so chosen a servant, how doth he it, but by telling of a man whose beloved lamb was ungratefully taken from his bosom? The application most divinely true, but the discourse itself feigned; which made David (I speak of the second and instrumental cause) as in a glass see his own filthiness, as that heavenly psalm of mercy well testifieth.

By these, therefore, examples and reasons, I think it may be manifest, that the poet, with that same hand of delight, doth draw the mind more effectually than any other art doth. And so a conclusion not unfitly ensues; that as virtue is the most excellent resting-place for all worldly learning to make his end of, so poetry, being the most familiar to teach it, and most princely to move towards it, in the most excellent work is the most excellent workman.

But I am content not only to decipher him by his works (although works in commendation and dispraise must ever hold a high authority), but more narrowly will examine his parts; so that (as in a man) though all together may carry a presence full of majesty and beauty, perchance in some one defectuous piece we may find blemish.

Now, in his parts, kinds, or species, as you list to term them, it is to be noted, that some poesies have coupled together two or three kinds; as the tragical and comical, whereupon is risen the tragi-comical; some, in the manner, have mingled prose and verse, as Sannazzaro and Boethius; some have mingled matters heroical and pastoral; but that cometh all to one in this question; for, if severed they be good, the conjunction cannot be hurtful. Therefore, perchance, forgetting some, and leaving some as needless to be remembered, it shall not be amiss, in a word, to cite the special kinds, to see what faults may be found in the right use of them.

Is it then the pastoral poem which is misliked? (For, perchance, where the hedge is lowest, they will soonest leap over.) Is the poor pipe disdained, which sometimes, out of Mælibeus's mouth, can show the misery of people under hard lords and ravening soldiers?

and again, by Tityrus, what blessedness is derived to them that lie lowest from the goodness of them that sit highest; sometimes under the pretty tales of wolves and sheep, can include the whole considerations of wrong-doing and patience; sometimes show, that contentions for trifles can get but a trifling victory; where, perchance, a man may see, that even Alexander and Darius, when they strove who should be cock of this world's dunghill, the benefit they got was, that the after-livers may say,

*"Hæc memini et victum frustra contendere Thyrsim;
Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis."*

VIRGIL.

Or is it the lamenting elegiac, which, in a kind heart, would move rather pity than blame; who bewaileth, with the great philosopher Heraclitus, the weakness of mankind, and the wretchedness of the world; who, surely, is to be praised, either for compassionately accompanying just causes of lamentations, or for rightly painting out how weak be the passions of wofulness?

Is it the bitter, but wholesome iambic, who rubs the galled mind, making shame the trumpet of villany, with bold and open crying out against naughtiness?

Or the satiric ? who,

“ Omne vafer vitium ridenti tangit amico ; ”

who sportingly never leaveth, until he make a man laugh at folly, and, at length, ashamed to laugh at himself, which he cannot avoid without avoiding the folly ; who, while “ circum præcordia ludit,” giveth us to feel how many headaches a passionate life bringeth us to ; who when all is done,

“ Est Ulubris, animus si nos non deficit æquus.”

No, perchance it is the comic ; whom naughty play-makers and stage-keepers have justly made odious. To the arguments of abuse I will after answer ; only thus much now is to be said, that the comedy is an imitation of the common errors of our life, which he representeth in the most ridiculous and scornful sort that may be ; so as it is impossible that any beholder can be content to be such a one. Now, as in geometry, the oblique must be known as well as the right, and in arithmetic, the odd as well as the even ; so in the actions of our life, who seeth not the filthiness of evil, wanteth a great foil to perceive the beauty of virtue. This doth the comedy handle so, in our private and domestical matters, as, with hearing it, we get, as it were, an experience of what is to be looked for, of a niggardly Demea,

of a crafty Davus, of a flattering Gnatho, of a vain-glorious Thraso; and not only to know what effects are to be expected, but to know who be such, by the signifying badge given them by the comedian. And little reason hath any man to say, that men learn the evil by seeing it so set out; since, as I said before, there is no man living, but by the force truth hath in nature, no sooner seeth these men play their parts, but wisheth them in "pistrinum"; although perchance the sack of his own faults lie so behind his back, that he seeth not himself to dance the same measure, whereto yet nothing can more open his eyes than to see his own actions contemptibly set forth; so that the right use of comedy will, I think, by nobody be blamed.

And much less of the high and excellent tragedy, that openeth the greatest wounds, and showeth forth the ulcers that are covered with tissue; that maketh kings fear to be tyrants, and tyrants to manifest their tyrannical humors; that with stirring the effects of admiration and commiseration, teacheth the uncertainty of this world, and upon how weak foundations gilded roofs are builded: that maketh us know, "*qui sceptrā sævus duro imperio regit, timet timentes, metus in authorem redit.*" But how much it can move, Plutarch yieldeth

a notable testimony of the abominable tyrant Alexander Phœæus ; from whose eyes a tragedy, well made and represented, drew abundance of tears, who without all pity had murdered infinite numbers, and some of his own blood ; so as he that was not ashamed to make matters for tragedies, yet could not resist the sweet violence of a tragedy. And if it wrought no farther good in him, it was that he, in despite of himself, withdrew himself from hearkening to that which might mollify his hardened heart. But it is not the tragedy they do mislike, for it were too absurd to cast out so excellent a representation of whatsoever is most worthy to be learned.

Is it the lyric that most displeaseth, who with his tuned lyre and well accorded voice, giveth praise, the reward of virtue, to virtuous acts ; who giveth moral precepts and natural problems ; who sometimes raiseth up his voice to the height of the heavens, in singing the lauds of the immortal God ? . Certainly, I must confess mine own barbarousness ; I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas,* that I

* Ben Jonson, charmed with the beauties of this old song of Chevy Chase, was wont to say, that he would rather have been the author of that little poem, than of all his own works. The ballad, on which there is a beautiful critique in the *Spectator*, No. 70 and 74, is con-

found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet; and yet it is sung but by some blind crowder, with no rougher voice than rude style; which being so evil apparelled in the dust and cobweb of that uncivil age, what would it work, trimmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar? In Hungary I have seen it the manner at all feasts, and all other such-like meetings, to have songs of their ancestors' valor, which that right soldier-like nation think one of the chiefest kindlers of brave courage. The incomparable Lacedæmonians did not only carry that kind of music ever with them to the field, but even at home, as such songs were made, so were they all content to be singers of them; when the lusty men were to tell what they did, the old men what they had done, and the young what they would do. And where a man may say, that Pindar many times praiseth highly victories of small moment, rather matters of sport than virtue; as it may be answered, it was the fault of the poet, and not of the poetry; so, indeed, the chief fault was in the time and custom of the Greeks, who set those toys at so high a price, that Philip of Macedon reckoned

jactured to have been written after this eulogium of Mr. Sidney, who probably had in contemplation a poem of an older date, which is inserted in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*.—Dr. ZOUCH.

a horserace won at Olympus among his three fearful felicities. But as the inimitable Pindar often did, so is that kind most capable, and most fit, to awake the thoughts from the sleep of idleness, to embrace honorable enterprises.

There rests the heroical, whose very name, I think, should daunt all backbiters. For by what conceit can a tongue be directed to speak evil of that which draweth with him no less champions than Achilles, Cyrus, Æneas, Turnus, Tydeus, Rinaldo? who doth not only teach and move to truth, but teacheth and moveth to the most high and excellent truth; who maketh magnanimity and justice shine through all misty fearfulness and foggy desires; who, if the saying of Plato and Tully be true, that who could see virtue, would be wonderfully ravished with the love of her beauty; this man setteth her out to make her more lovely, in her holiday apparel, to the eye of any that will deign not to disdain until they understand. But if any thing be already said in the defence of sweet poetry, all concurrerth to the maintaining the heroical, which is not only a kind, but the best and most accomplished kind of poetry. For, as the image of each action stirreth and instructeth the mind, so the lofty image of such worthies most inflameth the mind with desire to be worthy, and informs with counsel how to

be worthy. Only let *Æneas* be worn in the tablet of your memory, how he governeth himself in the ruin of his country ; in the preserving his old father, and carrying away his religious ceremonies ; in obeying God's commandments, to leave *Dido*, though not only all passionate kindness, but even the human consideration of virtuous gratefulness, would have craved other of him ; how in storms, how in sports, how in war, how in peace, how a fugitive, how victorious, how besieged, how besieging, how to strangers, how to allies, how to enemies, how to his own ; lastly, how in his inward self, and how in his outward government ; and I think, in a mind most prejudiced with a prejudicating humor, he will be found in excellency fruitful. Yea, as *Horace* saith, "*melius Chrysippo et Crantore.*" But, truly, I imagine it falleth out with these poet-whippers as with some good women who often are sick, but in faith they cannot tell where. So the name of poetry is odious to them, but neither his cause nor effects, neither the sum that contains him, nor the particularities descending from him, give any fast handle to their carping dispraise.

Since, then, poetry is of all human learnings the most ancient, and of most fatherly antiquity, as from whence other learnings have taken their beginnings ; since it is so universal that

no learned nation doth despise it, nor barbarous nation is without it ; since both Roman and Greek gave such divine names unto it, the one of "prophesying," the other of "making," and that indeed that name of "making" is fit for him, considering, that where all other arts retain themselves within their subject, and receive, as it were, their being from it, the poet only, only bringth his own stuff, and doth not learn a conceit out of a matter, but maketh matter for a conceit ; since neither his description nor end containeth any evil, the thing described cannot be evil ; since his effects be so good as to teach goodness, and delight the learners of it ; since therein (namely, in moral doctrine, the chief of all knowledges) he doth not only far pass the historian, but, for instructing, is well nigh comparable to the philosopher, for moving, leaveth him behind him ; since the holy scripture (wherein there is no uncleanness) hath whole parts in it poetical, and that even our Saviour Christ vouchsafed to use the flowers of it ; since all his kinds are not only in their united forms, but in their several dissections fully commendable ; I think, and think I think rightly, the laurel crown appointed for triumphant captains, doth worthily, of all other learnings, honor the poet's triumph.

But because we have ears as well as tongues, and that the lightest reasons that may be, will seem to weigh greatly, if nothing be put in the counter-balance, let us hear, and, as well as we can, ponder what objections be made against this art, which may be worthy either of yielding or answering.

First, truly, I note, not only in these *μυρομύσοι*, poet-haters, but in all that kind of people who seek a praise by dispraising others, that they do prodigally spend a great many wandering words in quips and scoffs, carping and taunting at each thing, which, by stirring the spleen, may stay the brain from a thorough beholding the worthiness of the subject. Those kind of objections, as they are full of a very idle easiness, (since there is nothing of so sacred a majesty, but that an itching tongue may rub itself upon it,) so deserve they no other answer, but, instead of laughing at the jest, to laugh at the jester. We know a playing wit can praise the discretion of an ass, the comfortableness of being in debt, and the jolly commodities of being sick of the plague : so, of the contrary side, if we will turn Ovid's verse,

“ Ut lateat virtus proximitate mali,”

“ that good lies hid in nearness of the evil,”
Agrippa will be as merry in the showing the

vanity of science, as Erasmus was in the commending of folly : neither shall any man or matter escape some touch of these smiling railers. But for Erasmus and Agrippa, they had another foundation than the superficial part would promise. Marry, these other pleasant fault-finders, who will correct the verb before they understand the noun, and confute others' knowledge, before they confirm their own ; I would have them only remember, that scoffing cometh not of wisdom ; so as the best title in true English they get with their merri-ments, is to be called good fools ; for so have our grave forefathers ever termed that humorous kind of jesters.

But that which giveth greatest scope to their scorning humor, is rhyming and versing. It is already said, and, as I think, truly said, it is not rhyming and versing that maketh poesy : one may be a poet without versing, and a versifier without poetry. But yet, presuppose it were inseparable, as, indeed, it seemeth Scaliger judgeth truly, it were an inseparable commendation : for if " oratio " next to " ratio," speech next to reason, be the greatest gift bestowed upon mortality, that cannot be praiseless which doth most polish that blessing of speech ; which considereth each word, not only as a man may say by his forcible quality, but

by his best measured quantity ; carrying even in themselves a harmony ; without, perchance, number, measure, order, proportion be in our time grown odious.

But lay aside the just praise it hath, by being the only fit speech for music — music, I say, the most divine striker of the senses ; thus much is undoubtedly true, that if reading be foolish without remembering, memory being the only treasure of knowledge, those words which are fittest for memory, are likewise most convenient for knowledge. Now, that verse far exceedeth prose in the knitting up of the memory, the reason is manifest ; the words, besides their delight, which hath a great affinity to memory, being so set, as one cannot be lost, but the whole work fails : which accusing itself, calleth the remembrance back to itself, and so most strongly confirmeth it. Besides, one word so, as it were, begetting another, as, be it in rhyme or measured verse, by the former a man shall have a near guess to the follower. Lastly, even they that have taught the art of memory, have showed nothing so apt for it as a certain room divided into many places, well and thoroughly known : now that hath the verse in effect perfectly, every word having his natural seat, which seat must needs make the word remembered. But what needs more in a thing

so known to all men ? Who is it, that ever was a scholar, that doth not carry away some verses of Virgil, Horace, or Cato, which in his youth he learned ; and even to his old age serve him for hourly lessons ? as,

“ Percontatorem fugito : nam garrulus idem est.”

“ Dum sibi quisque placet, credula turba sumus.”

But the fitness it hath for memory is notably proved by all delivery of arts, wherein, for the most part, from grammar to logic, mathematics, physick, and the rest, the rules chiefly necessary to be borne away, are compiled in verses. So that verse being in itself sweet and orderly, and being best for memory, the only handle of knowledge, it must be in jest that any man can speak against it.

Now then go we to the most important imputations laid to the poor poets ; for aught I can yet learn, they are these.

First, that there being many other more fruitful knowledges, a man might better spend his time in them than in this.

Secondly, that it is the mother of lies.

Thirdly, that it is the nurse of abuse, infecting us with many pestilent desires, with a syren sweetness drawing the mind to the serpent's tail of sinful fancies ; and herein especially, comedies give the largest field to

ear,* as Chaucer saith ; how, both in other nations and ours, before poets did soften us, we were full of courage, given to martial exercises, the pillars of manlike liberty, and not lulled asleep in shady idleness with poets' pastimes.

And lastly, and chiefly, they cry out with open mouth, as if they had overshot Robin Hood, that Plato banished them out of his commonwealth. Truly, this is much, if there be much truth in it.

First, to the first, that a man might better spend his time, is a reason indeed ; but it doth, as they say, but "petere principium." For if it be, as I affirm, that no learning is so good as that which teacheth and moveth to virtue, and that none can both teach and move thereto so much as poesy, then is the conclusion manifest, that ink and paper cannot be to a more profitable purpose employed. And certainly, though a man should grant their first assumption, it should follow, methinks, very unwilling-

* "To ear" or "ere," is "to till" or "plough," and is a verb sometimes used by Shakspeare, Fletcher, and many others of the old writers. In the present case, the expression "comedies give the largest field to ear," probably means, that they afford the largest matter for discourse. It is in this sense, according to Urry, that the phrase is employed by Chaucer in the passage referred to. Ch. Prol. v, 888.

ly, that good is not good, because better is better. But I still and utterly deny, that there is sprung out of earth a more fruitful knowledge.

To the second, therefore, that they should be the principal liars, I answer paradoxically, but truly, I think truly, that of all writers under the sun the poet is the least liar; and though he would, as a poet, can scarcely be a liar. The astronomer, with his cousin the geometrician, can hardly escape when they take upon them to measure the height of the stars. How often, think you, do the physicians lie, when they aver things good for sicknesses, which afterwards send Charon a great number of souls drowned in a potion before they come to his ferry? And no less of the rest which take upon them to affirm. Now for the poet, he nothing affirmeth, and therefore never lieth; for, as I take it, to lie is to affirm that to be true which is false: so as the other artists, and especially the historian, affirming many things, can, in the cloudy knowledge of mankind, hardly escape from many lies: but the poet, as I said before, never affirmeth; the poet never maketh any circles about your imagination, to conjure you to believe for true what he writeth: he citeth not authorities of other histories, but even for his entry, calleth the sweet muses to inspire into him a good invention; in troth,

not laboring to tell you what is, or is not, but what should, or should not be. And, therefore, though he recount things not true, yet because he telleth them not for true, he lieth not ; without we will say, that Nathan lied in his speech, before alleged, to David ; which, as a wicked man durst scarce say, so think I none so simple would say, that Æsop lied in the tales of his beasts ; for who thinketh that Æsop wrote it for actually true, were well worthy to have his name chronicled among the beasts he writeth of. What child is there, that cometh to a play, and seeing Thebes written in great letters upon an old door, doth believe that it is Thebes ? If then a man can arrive to the child's age, to know that the poets' persons and doings are but pictures what should be, and not stories what have been, they will never give the lie to things not affirmatively but allegorically and figurately written ; and therefore, as in history, looking for truth, they may go away full fraught with falsehood, so in poesy, looking but for fiction, they shall use the narration but as an imaginative ground-plot of a profitable invention.

But hereto is replied, that the poets give names to men they write of, which argueth a conceit of an actual truth, and so, not being true, proveth a falsehood. And doth the law-

yer lie then, when, under the names of John of the Stile, and John of the Nokes, he putteth his case? But that is easily answered, their naming of men is but to make their picture the more lively, and not to build any history. Painting men, they cannot leave men nameless: we see we cannot play at chess, but that we must give names to our chess-men; and yet, methinks, he were a very partial champion of truth, that would say we lied for giving a piece of wood the reverend title of a bishop. The poet nameth Cyrus and Æneas no other way than to show what men of their fames, fortunes, and estates should do.

Their third is, how much it abuseth men's wit, training it to a wanton sinfulness and lustful love. For, indeed, that is the principal if not only abuse I can hear alleged. They say the comedies rather teach, than reprehend, amorous conceits: they say the lyric is larded with passionate sonnets; the elegiac weeps the want of his mistress; and that even to the heroic Cupid hath ambitiously climbed. Alas! Love, I would thou couldst as well defend thyself, as thou canst offend others! I would those on whom thou dost attend, could either put thee away, or yield good reason why they keep thee! But grant love of beauty to be a beastly fault, although it be very hard, since

only man, and no beast, hath that gift to discern beauty ; grant that lovely name of love to deserve all hateful reproaches, although even some of my masters the philosophers spent a good deal of their lamp oil in setting forth the excellency of it ; grant, I say, what they will have granted, that not only love, but lust, but vanity, but, if they list, scurrility, possess many leaves of the poets' books ; yet, think I, when this is granted, they will find their sentence may, with good manners, put the last words foremost ; and not say that poetry abuseth man's wit, but that man's wit abuseth poetry. For I will not deny, but that man's wit may make poesy, which should be *φραστικὴ*, which some learned have defined, figuring forth good things, to be *φανταστικὴ*, which doth contrariwise infect the fancy with unworthy objects ; as the painter, who should give to the eye either some excellent perspective, or some fine picture fit for building or fortification, or containing in it some notable example, as Abraham sacrificing his son Isaac, Judith killing Holofernes, David fighting with Goliath, may leave those, and please an ill-pleased eye with wanton shows of better-hidden matters.

But, what ! shall the abuse of a thing make the right use odious ? Nay, truly, though I yield that poesy may not only be abused, but

that being abused, by the reason of his sweet charming force, it can do more hurt than any other army of words, yet shall it be so far from concluding, that the abuse shall give reproach to the abused, that, contrariwise, it is a good reason, that whatsoever being abused, doth most harm, being rightly used (and upon the right use, each thing receives his title) doth most good. Do we not see skill of physic, the best rampire to our often-assaulted bodies, being abused, teach poison, the most violent destroyer? Doth not knowledge of law, whose end is to even and right all things, being abused, grow the crooked fosterer of horrible injuries? Doth not (to go in the highest) God's word abused, breed heresy, and his name abused become blasphemy? Truly, a needle cannot do much hurt, and as truly (with leave of ladies be it spoken) it cannot do much good. With a sword thou mayest kill thy father, and with a sword thou mayest defend thy prince and country: so that, as in their calling poets fathers of lies, they said nothing, so in this their argument of abuse, they prove the commendation.

They allege herewith, that before poets began to be in price, our nation had set their heart's delight upon action, and not imagination; rather doing things worthy to be written,

than writing things fit to be done. What that before time was, I think scarcely Sphynx can tell; since no memory is so ancient that gives not the precedence to poetry. And certain it is, that, in our plainest homeliness, yet never was the Albion nation without poetry. Marry, this argument, though it be levelled against poetry, yet is it indeed a chain-shot against all learning or bookishness, as they commonly term it. Of such mind were certain Goths, of whom it is written, that having in the spoil of a famous city taken a fair library, one hangman, belike fit to execute the fruits of their wits, who had murdered a great number of bodies, would have set fire in it. "No," said another, very gravely, "take heed what you do; for while they are busy about those toys, we shall with more leisure conquer their countries." This, indeed, is the ordinary doctrine of ignorance, and many words sometimes I have heard spent in it; but because this reason is generally against all learning, as well as poetry, or rather all learning but poetry; because it were too large a digression to handle it, or at least too superfluous, since it is manifest that all government of action is to be gotten by knowledge, and knowledge best by gathering many knowledges, which is reading; I only say with Horace, to him that is of that opinion,

"Jubeo stultum esse libenter;" —

for as for poetry itself, it is the freest from this objection, for poetry is the companion of camps: I dare undertake, Orlando Furioso, or honest king Arthur, will never displease a soldier: but the quiddity of "ens" and "prima materia," will hardly agree with a corselet. And, therefore, as I said in the beginning, even Turks and Tartars are delighted with poets. Homer, a Greek, flourished before Greece flourished; and if to a slight conjecture a conjecture may be opposed, truly it may seem, that as by him their learned men took almost their first light of knowledge, so their active men received their first motions of courage. Only Alexander's example may serve, who by Plutarch is accounted of such virtue, that fortune was not his guide, but his footstool; whose acts speak for him, though Plutarch did not; indeed the phœnix of warlike princes. This Alexander left his schoolmaster, living Aristotle, behind him, but took dead Homer with him. He put the philosopher Callisthenes to death, for his seeming philosophical, indeed mutinous, stubbornness; but the chief thing he was ever heard to wish for, was, that Homer had been alive. He well found he received more bravery of mind by the pattern of Achilles, than by hearing the definition of fortitude. And, there-

fore, if Cato misliked Fulvius for carrying Ennius with him to the field, it may be answered, that if Cato misliked it, the noble Fulvius liked it, or else he had not done it; for it was not the excellent Cato Uticensis, whose authority I would much more have revered; but it was the former, in truth a bitter punisher of faults, but else a man that had never sacrificed to the Graces. He misliked and cried out against all Greek learning; and yet, being fourscore years old, began to learn it, belike fearing that Pluto understood not Latin. Indeed the Roman laws allowed no person to be carried to the wars, but he that was in the soldiers' roll. And, therefore, though Cato misliked his unmustered person, he misliked not his work. And if he had, Scipio Nasica (judged by common consent the best Roman) loved him: both the other Scipio brothers, who had by their virtues no less surnames than of Asia and Afric, so loved him, that they caused his body to be buried in their sepulture. So as Cato's authority being but against his person, and that answered with so far greater than himself, is herein of no validity.

But now, indeed, my burthen is great, that Plato's name is laid upon me, whom I must confess, of all philosophers, I have ever esteemed most worthy of reverence; and with good

reason, since of all philosophers he is the most poetical; yet if he will defile the fountain out of which his flowing streams have proceeded, let us boldly examine with what reason he did it.

First, truly, a man might maliciously object, that Plato, being a philosopher, was a natural enemy of poets. For, indeed, after the philosophers had picked out of the sweet mysteries of poetry, the right discerning true points of knowledge, they forthwith, putting it in method, and making a school art of that which the poets did only teach by a divine delightfulness, beginning to spurn at their guides, like ungrateful apprentices, were not content to set up shop for themselves, but sought by all means to discredit their masters; which, by the force of delight being barred them, the less they could overthrow them, the more they hated them. For, indeed, they found for Homer seven cities strove who should have him for their citizen, where many cities banished philosophers, as not fit members to live among them. For only repeating certain of Euripides' verses, many Athenians had their lives saved of the Syracusans, where the Athenians themselves thought many philosophers unworthy to live. Certain poets, as Simonides and Pindar, had so prevailed with Hiero the First, that of

a tyrant they made him a just king : where Plato could do so little with Dionysius, that he himself, of a philosopher, was made a slave. But who should do thus, I confess, should requite the objections made against poets, with like cavillations against philosophers ; as likewise one should do, that should bid one read Phædrus or Symposium in Plato, or the discourses of love in Plutarch, and see whether any poet do authorize abominable filthiness as they do.

Again, a man might ask, out of what commonwealth Plato doth banish them. In sooth, thence where he himself alloweth community of women. So as belike this banishment grew not for effeminate wantonness, since little should poetical sonnets be hurtful, when a man might have what woman he listed. But I honor philosophical instructions, and bless the wits which bred them, so as they be not abused, which is likewise stretched to poetry. Saint Paul himself sets a watchword upon philosophy, indeed upon the abuse. So doth Plato upon the abuse, not upon poetry. Plato found fault that the poets of his time filled the world with wrong opinions of the gods, making light tales of that unspotted essence, and, therefore, would not have the youth depraved with such opinions. Herein may much be said, let this suf-

fice: the poets did not induce such opinions, but did imitate those opinions already induced. For all the Greek stories can well testify, that the very religion of that time stood upon many and many-fashioned gods; not taught so by poets, but followed according to their nature of imitation. Who list may read in Plutarch the discourses of Isis and Osiris, of the cause why oracles ceased, of the divine providence, and see whether the theology of that nation stood not upon such dreams, which the poets indeed superstitiously observed; and truly, since they had not the light of Christ, did much better in it than the philosophers, who, shaking off superstition, brought in atheism.

Plato, therefore, whose authority I had much rather justly construe than unjustly resist, meant not in general of poets, in those words of which Julius Scaliger saith, "*quâ auctoritate barbari quidam atque insipidi abuti velint ad poetas e republicâ exigendos*": but only meant to drive out those wrong opinions of the Deity, whereof now, without farther law, Christianity hath taken away all the hurtful belief, perchance as he thought, nourished by then esteemed poets. And a man need go no farther than to Plato himself to know his meaning; who, in his dialogue called *Ion*, giveth high, and rightly divine commendation unto

poetry. So as Plato, banishing the abuse, not the thing, not banishing it, but giving due honor to it, shall be our patron, and not our adversary. For, indeed, I had much rather, since truly I may do it, show their mistaking of Plato, under whose lion's skin they would make an ass-like braying against poesy, than go about to overthrow his authority; whom, the wiser a man is, the more just cause he shall find to have in admiration; especially since he attributeth unto poesy more than myself do, namely, to be a very inspiring of a divine force, far above man's wit, as in the forenamed dialogue is apparent.

Of the other side, who would show the honors have been by the best sort of judgments granted them, a whole sea of examples would present themselves; Alexanders, Cæsars, Scipios, all favorers of poets; Lælius, called the Roman Socrates, himself a poet, so as part of *Heautontimoroumenos*, in Terence, was supposed to be made by him. And even the Greek Socrates, whom Apollo confirmed to be the only wise man, is said to have spent part of his old time in putting *Æsop's Fables* into verse: and, therefore, full evil should it become his scholar, Plato, to put such words in his master's mouth against poets. But what needs more? Aristotle writes the *Art of Poesy*; and why, if it should not be written? Plutarch teacheth

the use to be gathered of them ; and how, if they should not be read ? And who reads Plutarch's either history or philosophy, shall find he trimmeth both their garments with gards of poesy.

But I list not to defend poesy with the help of his underling historiographer. Let it suffice to have showed, it is a fit soil for praise to dwell upon ; and what dispraise may be set upon it, is either easily overcome, or transformed into just commendation. So, that since the excellencies of it may be so easily and so justly confirmed, and the low creeping objections so soon trodden down ; it not being an art of lies, but of true doctrine ; not of effeminateness, but of notable stirring of courage ; not of abusing man's wit, but of strengthening man's wit ; not banished, but honored by Plato ; let us rather plant more laurels for to ingarland the poets' heads (which honor of being laureate, as besides them only triumphant captains were, is a sufficient authority to show the price they ought to be held in,) than suffer the ill-favored breath of such wrong speakers once to blow upon the clear springs of poesy.

But since I have run so long a career in this matter, methinks, before I give my pen a full stop, it shall be but a little more lost time to inquire, why England, the mother of excellent

minds, should be grown so hard a step-mother to poets ; who, certainly, in wit ought to pass all others, since all only proceeds from their wit, being, indeed, makers of themselves, not takers of others. How can I but exclaim,

“ Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine læso ! ”

Sweet poesy ! that hath anciently had kings, emperors, senators, great captains, such as, besides a thousand others, David, Adrian, Sophocles, Germanicus, not only to favor poets, but to be poets ; and of our nearer times, can present for her patrons, a Robert, king of Sicily ; the great king Francis of France ; king James of Scotland ; such cardinals as Bembus and Bibiena ; such famous preachers and teachers as Beza and Melancthon ; so learned philosophers as Fracastorius and Scaliger ; so great orators as Pontanus and Muretus ; so piercing wits as George Buchanan ; so grave counsellors as, besides many, but before all, that Hospital of France ; than whom, I think, that realm never brought forth a more accomplished judgment more firmly builded upon virtue ; I say, these, with numbers of others, not only to read others' poesies, but to poetize for others' reading : that poesy, thus embraced in all other places, should only find, in our time, a hard welcome in England, I think the very

earth laments it, and therefore decks our soil with fewer laurels than it was accustomed. For heretofore poets have in England also flourished; and, which is to be noted, even in those times when the trumpet of Mars did sound loudest. And now, that an over-faint quietness should seem to strew the house for poets, they are almost in as good reputation as the mountebanks at Venice. Truly, even that, as of the one side it giveth great praise to poesy, which, like Venus, (but to better purpose,) had rather be troubled in the net with Mars, than enjoy the homely quiet of Vulcan; so serveth it for a piece of a reason why they are less grateful to idle England, which now can scarce endure the pain of a pen. Upon this necessarily followeth, that base men, with servile wits, undertake it, who think it enough if they can be rewarded of the printer: and so as Epaminondas, is said, with the honor of his virtue, to have made an office, by his exercising it, which before was contemptible, to become highly respected; so these men, no more but setting their names to it, by their own disgracefulness, disgrace the most graceful poesy. For now, as if all the muses were got with child to bring forth bastard poets, without any commission they do post over the banks of Helicon, until they make their readers more weary than

post-horses; while, in the mean time, they,

"Queis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan,"

are better content to suppress the outflowings of their wit, than by publishing them to be accounted knights of the same order.

But I that, before ever I durst aspire unto the dignity, am admitted into the company of the paper-blurrs, do find the very true cause of our wanting estimation, is want of desert, taking upon us to be poets in despite of Pallas. Now, wherein we want desert, were a thank-worthy labor to express. But if I knew, I should have mended myself; but as I never desired the title, so have I neglected the means to come by it; only, overmastered by some thoughts, I yielded an inky tribute unto them. Marry, they that delight in poesy itself, should seek to know what they do; and how they do especially look themselves in an unflattering glass of reason, if they be inclinable unto it.

For poesy must not be drawn by the ears, it must be gently led, or rather it must lead; which was partly the cause that made the ancient learned affirm, it was a divine, and no human skill, since all other knowledges lie ready for any that have strength of wit: a poet no industry can make, if his own genius be not carried into it. And therefore is an old

proverb, "*Orator fit, poeta nascitur.*" Yet confess I always, that as the fertilest ground must be manured, so must the highest flying wit have a Dædalus to guide him. That Dædalus, they say, both in this and in other, hath three wings to bear itself up into the air of due commendation ; that is, art, imitation, and exercise. But these, neither artificial rules, nor imitative patterns, we much cumber ourselves withal. Exercise, indeed, we do, but that very fore-backwardly ; for where we should exercise to know, we exercise as having known ; and so is our brain delivered of much matter, which never was begotten by knowledge. For there being two principal parts, matter to be expressed by words, and words to express the matter, in neither we use art or imitation rightly. Our matter is "*quodlibet*," indeed, although wrongly performing Ovid's verse,

" *Quicquid conabor dicere, versus erit ;* "

never marshalling it into any assured rank, that almost the readers cannot tell where to find themselves.

Chaucer, undoubtedly, did excellently in his *Troilus and Cressida* ; of whom, truly, I know not whether to marvel more, either that he, in that misty time, could see so clearly, or that we, in this clear age, go so stumblingly after

him. Yet had he great wants, fit to be forgiven in so reverend antiquity. I account the *Mirror of Magistrates** meetly furnished of beautiful parts. And in the Earl of Surrey's *Lyrics*,† many things tasting of a noble birth, and worthy of a noble mind. The *Shepherds' Kalendar*‡ hath more poesy in his eclogues, indeed, worthy the reading, if I be not deceived. That same framing of his style to an old rustic language I dare not allow; since neither Theocritus in Greek, Virgil in Latin, nor Sannazaro in Italian, did affect it. Besides these, I do not remember to have seen but few (to speak

* The *Mirror for Magistrates* was the joint production of Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, and other ingenious persons of less note, his contemporaries and friends. It first appeared in print in 1559. Buckhurst contributed the "Induction," which has ever been esteemed one of the most vigorous remnants of old English poetry. Walpole styles him "the patriarch of a race of genius and wit."

† Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was the son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. He was the author of several minor poems, of much elegance and spirit; and he afforded the earliest specimen of blank verse in our language, in his translation of the fourth book of the *Æneid*. The jealousy of Henry the Eighth brought him to the scaffold in 1546-7.

‡ Written by Spenser, and dedicated "to the noble and virtuous gentleman, most worthy of all titles both of learning and chivalry, Master Philip Sidney."

boldly) printed, that have poetical sinews in them. For proof whereof, let but most of the verses be put in prose, and then ask the meaning and it will be found, that one verse did but beget another, without ordering, at the first, what should be at the last ; which becomes a confused mass of words, with a tinkling sound of rhyme, barely accompanied with reason.

Our tragedies and comedies, not without cause, are cried out against, observing rules neither of honest civility nor skilful poetry. Excepting *Gorboduc*,* (again I say of those that I have seen,) which notwithstanding, as it is full of stately speeches and well-sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca his style, and as full of notable morality, which it doth most delightfully teach, and so obtain the very end of poesy ; yet, in truth, it is very defectuous in the circumstances, which grieves me, because it might not remain as an exact model of all tragedies. For it is faulty both in

* This play was written by Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Thomas Norton. It was first printed in the year 1565, under the title of *Ferrex and Porrex* ; but in 1590, its name was changed to that of the "*Tragedy of Gorboduc*." It was represented before Queen Elizabeth by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple. The first three acts were the composition of Norton ; and the fourth and fifth, of Lord Buckhurst.

place and time, the two necessary companions of all corporal actions. For where the stage should alway represent but one place ; and the uttermost time presupposed in it, should be, both by Aristotle's precept, and common reason, but one day ; there is both many days and many places inartificially imagined.

But if it be so in Gorboduc, how much more in all the rest ? where you shall have Asia of the one side, and Afric of the other, and so many other under kingdoms, that the player, when he comes in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived. Now shall you have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by, we hear news of shipwreck in the same place, then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave ; while, in the mean time, two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then, what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field ?

Now of time they are much more liberal : for ordinary it is, that two young princes fall in love ; after many traverses she is got with child ; delivered of a fair boy ; he is lost, groweth a

man, falleth in love, and is ready to get another child ; and all this in two hours' space ; which, how absurd it is in sense, even sense may imagine ; and art hath taught, and all ancient examples justified, and at this day the ordinary players in Italy will not err in. Yet will some bring in an example of the Eunuch in Terence, that containeth matter of two days, yet far short of twenty years. True it is, and so was it to be played in two days, and so fitted to the time it set forth. And though Plautus have in one place done amiss, let us hit it with him, and not miss with him. But they will say, How then shall we set forth a story which contains both many places and many times ? And do they not know that a tragedy is tied to the laws of poesy, and not of history ; not bound to follow the story, but having liberty either to feign a quite new matter, or to frame the history to the most tragical convenience ? Again, many things may be told, which cannot be showed ; if they know the difference betwixt reporting and representing. As for example, I may speak, though I am here, of Peru, and in speech digress from that to the description of Calicut : but in action I cannot represent it without Pa-colet's horse. And so was the manner the ancients took by some " Nuntius," to recount things done in former time, or other place.

Lastly, if they will represent a history, they must not, as Horace saith, begin "ab ovo," but they must come to the principal point of that one action which they will represent. By example this will be best expressed: I have a story of young Polydorus, delivered, for safety's sake, with great riches, by his father Priamus, to Polymnestor, king of Thrace, in the Trojan war time. He, after some years, hearing of the overthrow of Priamus, for to make the treasure his own, murdereth the child; the body of the child is taken up: Hecuba, she, the same day, findeth a sleight to be revenged most cruelly of the tyrant. Where now, would one of our tragedy-writers begin, but with the delivery of the child? Then should he sail over into Thrace, and so spend I know not how many years, and travel numbers of places. But where doth Euripides? Even with the finding of the body; leaving the rest to be told by the spirit of Polydorus. This needs no farther to be enlarged; the dullest wit may conceive it.

But, besides these gross absurdities, how all their plays be neither right tragedies nor right comedies, mingling kings and clowns, not because the matter so carrieth it, but thrust in the clown by head and shoulders to play a part in majestical matters, with neither decency nor discretion; so as neither the admiration and

commiseration, nor the right sportfulness, is by their mongrel tragi-comedy obtained. I know Apuleius did somewhat so, but that is a thing recounted with space of time, not represented in one moment : and I know the ancients have one or two examples of tragi-comedies, as Plautus hath *Amphytrio*. But, if we mark them well, we shall find, that they never, or very daintily, match hornpipes and funerals. So falleth it out, that having indeed no right comedy in that comical part of our tragedy, we have nothing but scurrility, unworthy of any chaste ears ; or some extreme show of doltishness, indeed fit to lift up a loud laughter, and nothing else : where the whole tract of a comedy should be full of delight ; as the tragedy should be still maintained in a well-raised admiration.

But our comedians think there is no delight without laughter, which is very wrong : for though laughter may come with delight, yet cometh it not of delight, as though delight should be the cause of laughter ; but well may one thing breed both together. Nay, in themselves, they have, as it were, a kind of contrariety. For delight we scarcely do, but in things that have a conveniency to ourselves, or to the general nature : laughter almost ever cometh of things most disproportioned to ourselves and nature. Delight hath a joy in it either perma-

ment or present : laughter hath only a scornful tickling. For example ; we are ravished with delight to see a fair woman, and yet are far from being moved to laughter : we laugh at deformed creatures, wherein certainly we cannot delight : we delight in good chances, we laugh at mischances : we delight to hear the happiness of our friends and country, at which he were worthy to be laughed at that would laugh : we shall, contrarily, sometimes laugh to find a matter quite mistaken, and go down the hill against the bias, in the mouth of some such men, as for the respect of them, one shall be heartily sorry he cannot choose but laugh, and so is rather pained than delighted with laughter. Yet deny I not, but that they may go well together ; for, as in Alexander's picture well set out, we delight without laughter, and in twenty mad antics we laugh without delight : so in Hercules, painted with his great beard and furious countenance, in a woman's attire, spinning at Omphale's commandment, it breeds both delight and laughter ; for the representing of so strange a power in love, procures delight, and the scornfulness of the action stirreth laughter.

But I speak to this purpose, that all the end of the comical part be not upon such scornful matters as stir laughter only, but mix with it

that delightful teaching which is the end of poesy. And the great fault, even in that point of laughter, and forbidden plainly by Aristotle, is, that they stir laughter in sinful things, which are rather execrable than ridiculous; or in miserable, which are rather to be pitied than scorned. For what is it to make folks gape at a wretched beggar, and a beggarly clown; or, against the law of hospitality, to jest at strangers, because they speak not English so well as we do? what do we learn, since it is certain,

*“ Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit? ”*

But rather a busy loving courtier, and a heartless threatening Thraso; a self-wise seeming schoolmaster; a wry-transformed traveller: these, if we saw walk in stage names, which we play naturally, therein were delightful laughter, and teaching delightfulness: as in the other, the tragedies of Buchanan do justly bring forth a divine admiration.

But I have lavished out too many words of this play matter; I do it, because, as they are excelling parts of poesy, so is there none so much used in England, and none can be more pitifully abused; which, like an unmannerly daughter, showing a bad education, causeth her mother Poesy's honesty to be called in question.

Other sorts of poetry, almost, have we none, but that lyrical kind of songs and sonnets, which, if the Lord gave us so good minds, how well it might be employed, and with how heavenly fruits, both private and public, in singing the praises of the immortal beauty, the immortal goodness of that God, who giveth us hands to write, and wits to conceive ; of which we might well want words, but never matter ; of which we could turn our eyes to nothing, but we should ever have new budding occasions.

But, truly, many of such writings as come under the banner of irresistible love, if I were a mistress, would never persuade me they were in love ; so coldly they apply fiery speeches, as men that had rather read lovers' writings, and so caught up certain swelling phrases, which hang together like a man that once told me, " the wind was at north-west and by south " : because he would be sure to name winds enough ; than that, in truth, they feel those passions, which easily, as I think, may be bewrayed by that same forcibleness, or " energia," (as the Greeks call it,) of the writer. But let this be a sufficient, though short note, that we miss the right use of the material point of poesy.

Now for the outside of it, which is words, or (as I may term it) diction, it is even well worse ;

so is that honey-flowing matron eloquence, apparelled, or rather disguised, in a courtesan-like painted affectation ; one time with so far-fetched words, that many seem monsters, but most seem strangers to any poor Englishman ; another time with coursing of a letter, as if they were bound to follow the method of a dictionary ; another time with figures and flowers, extremely winter-starved. .

But I would this fault were only peculiar to versifiers, and had not as large possession among prose-printers, and, which is to be marvelled, among many scholars, and, which is to be pitied, among some preachers. Truly I could wish (if at least I might be so bold to wish, in a thing beyond the reach of my capacity) the diligent imitators of Tully and Demosthenes, most worthy to be imitated, did not so much keep Nizolian paper-books of their figures and phrases, as by attentive translation, as it were, devour them whole, and make them wholly theirs. For now they cast sugar and spice upon every dish that is served at the table ; like those Indians, not content to wear ear-rings at the fit and natural place of the ears, but they will thrust jewels through their nose and lips, because they will be sure to be fine. Tully, when he was to drive out Catiline, as it were with a thunderbolt of eloquence, often

useth the figure of repetition, as "Vivit et vincit, imo in senatum venit, imo in senatum venit," etc. Indeed, inflamed with a well-grounded rage, he would have his words, as it were, double out of his mouth; and so do that artificially, which we see men in choler do naturally. And we, having noted the grace of those words, hale them in sometimes to a familiar epistle, when it were too much choler to be cholerick.

How well, store of "similiter cadences" doth sound with the gravity of the pulpit, I would but invoke Demosthenes's soul to tell, who with a rare daintiness useth them. Truly, they have made me think of the sophister, that with too much subtlety would prove two eggs three, and though he might be counted a sophister, had none for his labor. So these men bringing in such a kind of eloquence, well may they obtain an opinion of a seeming fineness, but persuade few, which should be the end of their fineness.

Now for similitudes in certain printed discourses, I think all herbalists, all stories of beasts, fowls, and fishes are rifled up, that they may come in multitudes to wait upon any of our conceits, which certainly is as absurd a surfeit to the ears as is possible. For the force of a similitude not being to prove any thing to

a contrary disputer, but only to explain to a willing hearer ; when that is done, the rest is a most tedious prattling, rather overswaying the memory from the purpose whereto they were applied, than any whit informing the judgment, already either satisfied, or by similitudes not to be satisfied.

For my part, I do not doubt; when Antonius and Crassus, the great forefathers of Cicero in eloquence, the one (as Cicero testifieth of them) pretended not to know art, the other not to set by it, because with a plain sensibleness they might win credit of popular ears, which credit is the nearest step to persuasion, (which persuasion is the chief mark of oratory,) I do not doubt, I say, but that they used these knacks very sparingly ; which who doth generally use, any man may see, doth dance to his own music ; and so to be noted by the audience, more careful to speak curiously than truly. Undoubtedly (at least to my opinion undoubtedly) I have found in divers small-learned courtiers, a more sound style, than in some professors of learning ; of which I can guess no other cause, but that the courtier following that which by practice he findeth fittest to nature, therein (though he know it not) doth according to art, though not by art : where the other, using art to show art, and not hide art,

(as in these cases he should do,) flieth from nature, and indeed abuseth art.

But what ! methinks I deserve to be pounded for straying from poetry to oratory : but both have such an affinity in the wordish considerations, that I think this digression will make my meaning receive the fuller understanding : which is not to take upon me to teach poets how they should do, but only finding myself sick among the rest, to show some one or two spots of the common infection grown among the most part of writers ; that, acknowledging ourselves somewhat awry, we may bend to the right use both of matter and manner : whereto our language giveth us great occasion, being, indeed, capable of any excellent exercising of it. I know some will say, it is a mingled language : and why not so much the better, taking the best of both the other ? Another will say, it wanteth grammar. Nay, truly, it hath that praise, that it wants not grammar ; for grammar it might have, but needs it not ; being so easy in itself, and so void of those cumbersome differences of cases, genders, moods, and tenses ; which, I think, was a piece of the tower of Babylon's curse, that a man should be put to school to learn his mother tongue. But for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the mind, which is the end of speech,

that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world, and is particularly happy in compositions of two or three words together, near the Greek, far beyond the Latin ; which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language.

Now, of versifying there are two sorts, the one ancient, the other modern ; the ancient marked the quantity of each syllable, and according to that framed his verse ; the modern observing only number, with some regard of the accent, the chief life of it standeth in that like sounding of the words, which we call rhyme. Whether of these be the more excellent, would bear many speeches ; the ancient, no doubt, more fit for music, both words and time observing quantity ; and more fit lively to express divers passions, by the low or lofty sound of the well-weighed syllable. The latter likewise, with his rhyme striketh a certain music to the ear ; and, in fine, since it doth delight, though by another way, it obtaineth the same purpose ; there being in either, sweetness, and wanting in neither, majesty. Truly the English, before any vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts ; for, for the ancient, the Italian is so full of vowels, that it must ever be cumbered with elisions ; the Dutch so, of the other side, with consonants, that they cannot yield the sweet sliding fit for a verse. The

French, in his whole language, hath not one word that hath his accent in the last syllable saving two, called antepenultima; and little more hath the Spanish; and therefore very gracelessly may they use dactyles. The English is subject to none of these defects.

Now for rhyme, though we do not observe quantity, yet we observe the accent very precisely, which other languages either cannot do, or will not do so absolutely. That "cæsura," or breathing-place, in the midst of the verse, neither Italian nor Spanish have, the French and we never almost fail of. Lastly, even the very rhyme itself the Italian cannot put in the last syllable, by the French named the masculine rhyme, but still in the next to the last, which the French call the female; or the next before that, which the Italian calls "sdruc-ciola": * the example of the former is, "buono," "suono;" of the sdruc-ciola is, "femina," "semina." The French, of the other side, hath both the male, as "bon," "son," and the female, as "plaise," "taise"; but the "sdruc-ciola" he hath not; where the English hath all three, as "due," "true," "father," "rather," "motion," "potion"; with much more which

* That is, the easy sliding of words of three or more syllables.

might be said, but that already I find the trifling of this discourse is much too much enlarged.

So that since the ever praiseworthy poesy is full of virtue, breeding delightfulness, and void of no gift that ought to be in the noble name of learning ; since the blames laid against it are either false or feeble ; since the cause why it is not esteemed in England is the fault of poet-apes, not poets ; since, lastly, our tongue is most fit to honor poesy, and to be honored by poesy ; I conjure you all that have had the evil luck to read this ink-wasting toy of mine, even in the name of the nine muses, no more to scorn the sacred mysteries of poesy ; no more to laugh at the name of poets, as though they were next inheritors to fools ; no more to jest at the reverend title of " a rhymers " ; but to believe with Aristotle, that they were the ancient treasurers of the Grecians' divinity ; to believe, with Bembo, that they were the first bringers in of all civility ; to believe, with Scaliger, that no philosopher's precepts can sooner make you an honest man, than the reading of Virgil ; to believe, with Clauserus, the translator of Cornutus, that it pleased the heavenly deity by Hesiod and Homer, under the veil of fables, to give us all knowledge, logic, rhetoric, philosophy, natural and moral, and " quid

non ?" to believe, with me, that there are many mysteries contained in poetry, which of purpose were written darkly, lest by profane wits it should be abused ; to believe, with Landin, that they are so beloved of the gods, that whatsoever they write proceeds of a divine fury ; lastly, to believe themselves, when they tell you, they will make you immortal by their verses.

Thus doing, your names shall flourish in the printers' shops : thus doing, you shall be of kin to many a poetical preface : thus doing, you shall be most fair, most rich, most wise, most all ; you shall dwell upon superlatives : thus doing, though you be "*libertino patre natus*," you shall suddenly grow "*Herculea proles*,"

" *Si quid mea carmina possunt* : "

thus doing, your soul shall be placed with Dante's *Beatrix*, or Virgil's *Anchises*.

But if (fie of such a but !) you be born so near the dull-making cataract of Nilus, that you cannot hear the planet-like music of poetry ; if you have so earth-creeping a mind, that it cannot lift itself up to look to the sky of poetry, or rather, by a certain rustical disdain, will become such a *moïme*, as to be a *Momus* of poetry ; then, though I will not wish unto you the

ass's ears of Midas, nor to be driven by a poet's verses, as Bubonax was, to hang himself; nor to be rhymed to death, as is said to be done in Ireland; yet thus much curse I must send you in the behalf of all poets; that while you live, you live in love, and never get favor, for lacking skill of a sonnet; and when you die, your memory die from the earth, for want of an epitaph.

SELDEN'S TABLE-TALK.

TO MASTER JOHN SELDEN.

" I yield, I yield. The matter of your praise
Flows in upon me, and I cannot raise
A bank against it ; nothing but the round
Large clasp of nature such a wit can bound :
Monarch in letters ! " BEN JONSON.

" The chief of learned men reputed in this land, Mr.
Selden." MILTON.

" Intellexit hoc probe, si quis alius, Joannes Seldenus,
Britanniæ illud immortale decus." BUDDÆUS.

" A few of the French *Ana* are good ; but we have
one book of that kind better than any of them ; Selden's
Table-Talk." DR. JOHNSON.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
JOHN SELDEN.*

JOHN SELDEN, whom Grotius calls "the glory of the English nation," was born at Salvington, an obscure village on the coast of Sussex, on the 16th of December, 1584. "His father," says Anthony Wood, "was a sufficient plebeian, and delighted much in music, by the exercising of which he obtained, as 't is said, his wife, of whom our famous author, John Selden, was born." He received his early education at

* Those who would know more of Selden are referred to Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Wrangham's *British Plutarch*, the *Biographia Britannica*, Aikin's *General Biography*, and Aikin's *Life of Selden*, published in an 8vo volume in 1812. This last work contains the most complete account of his life, character, and writings.

the free school of Chichester, and at the age of fourteen was sent to Hart Hall, in the University of Oxford. "Here," continues Wood, "being instructed in logic and philosophy for about three years, which with great facility he conquered, he was transplanted to the Inner Temple, to make proficiency in the municipal laws of the nation. After he had continued there a sedulous student for some time, he did, by the help of a strong body and a vast memory, not only run through the whole body of the law, but became a prodigy in most parts of learning, especially in those which were not common, or little frequented or regarded by the generality of students of his time. So that in few years his name was wonderfully advanced, not only at home, but in foreign countries, and was usually styled, 'the great Dictator of learning of the English nation.' The truth is, his great parts did not live within a small ambit, but traced out the latitudes of arts and languages, as it appears by those many books he hath published. He had great skill in the divine and human laws; he was a great philologist, antiquary, herald, linguist, statesman, and what not. His natural and artificial memory was exact, yet his fancy slow, notwithstanding he made several sallies into the faculties of poetry and oratory to ease his severer thoughts and smooth his rough style. He seldom or never appeared publicly at the bar, but sometimes gave chamber-counsel, and was good at conveyance."

So assiduously did he devote himself to literary occupations in the midst of his legal studies, that, at the early age of twenty-two, he had completed

his "Dissertation on the Civil Government of Britain before the Norman Conquest."* This work is an astonishing performance, considering the age at which it was composed. In 1610, we find him pursuing the same course of study, the fruits of which were given to the world, under the titles of "*Jani Anglorum Facies Altera*," "England's Epinomis," and "The Duello, or Single Combat." These publications were in a measure connected with the studies incident to his profession; but in 1612, was put forth his elaborate and interesting commentary on the first twelve books of Drayton's *Polyolbion*; he must, therefore, have been indefatigable in his pursuit of knowledge through every channel, and in all its various branches. His intense application appears to have very materially injured his health; for in the dedication of his "Titles of Honor," published in 1614, to his friend, Mr. Edward Heyward, he says, "Some year since it was finished, wanting only, in some parts, my last hand — which was then prevented by my dangerous and tedious sickness." From this attack he recovered, by the skill and care of Dr. Robert Floyd, returning to his studies with fresh zeal and renewed vigor; "and thus," says he, "I employed the breathing-times which, from the so different studies of my profession, were allowed me; nor hath the proverbial assertion, 'that the lady Common Law must lie alone,' ever wrought with

* This was not published until 1615, when it was printed at Frankfort, under the title of "*Analecton Anglo-Britannicæ Libri Duo*."

me." His fame now rang through Europe, and his books were received and read with avidity. In the year 1617, was produced that extraordinary and profoundly erudite treatise on the Deities of the Ancient Syrians,* which he "intended as a commentary on all the passages of the Old Testament relating to the idols of the heathens, and discussing, therefore, not only the Syrian, but the Arabian, Egyptian, Persian, African, and European idolatry."

His "History of Tithes" was published in 1618, in which he seemed to combat the divine right of the church to them, and, consequently, gave great offence to the clergy, and incurred the displeasure of king James. He was admitted, at the intercession of his friend Ben Jonson, to explain himself to the king in person, and seemed to have conciliated him; but in a very short time he was cited before the high commission court, his book was prohibited, he was enjoined to declare his contrition for having written it, and forbid to reply to any of those who might write against it, upon pain of imprisonment.

In the preface to his "History of Tithes," he reproaches the clergy with ignorance and laziness, and upbraids them with having nothing to keep up their credit, but beard, title, and habit; and that their studies reached no farther than the breviary, the postills, and polyanthea: this was enough to draw down their indignation upon him, and he was consequently vehemently attacked. Wood says, that "the usage he met with sunk so deep into his stomach, that he

* "De Diis Syris Syntagmata Duo. Lond. 1617."

did never after affect the bishops and clergy, or cordially approve their calling, though many ways were tried to gain him to the church's interest." He had certainly a great contempt for the ignorant and fanatic among the clergy of his day, and did not scruple to express it openly: indeed it appears he was of opinion, that the state should invariably keep a rein on the church. Though not orthodox in his opinions, he was "a resolved serious Christian," as Sir Matthew Hale told Baxter, "a great enemy to Hobbes's errors, and that he had seen him openly oppose Hobbes so earnestly as either to depart from him or drive him from the room." In his last illness, he was visited by Archbishop Usher and Dr. Langbaine; and to them he declared, "that he had his study full of books and papers of most subjects in the world; yet at that time he could not recollect any passages out of infinite books and manuscripts he was master of, wherein he could rest his soul, save out of the holy Scriptures."

In the year 1621, James asserted, in one of his speeches, that the privileges of parliament were original grants from the crown. Upon this occasion, Selden was consulted both by the Lords and the Commons; and in the opinion which he delivered, though he wholly denied the point in question, yet with the strictest integrity he did ample justice to the prerogative of the Crown.

The protest made by the Commons, on this occasion, was attributed to him, and the vengeance of the court followed. He was imprisoned by an order in council of the 16th of June, which directed, "that

no person should be suffered to speak with him; nor should word, message, or writing be received by him; and that a gentleman of trust should be appointed to remain with him." The letter which he addressed to Sir George Calvert, one of the secretaries of state, upon this occasion, is remarkable for the cool firmness which it exhibits. After being kept in confinement for five weeks, he was liberated at the intercession of lord keeper Williams. It was during this imprisonment that he prepared for the press the curious historical work of Eadmer, a Saxon monkish writer, and illustrated it with very learned notes: upon its publication, he dedicated it in grateful terms to the lord keeper, thanking him for having been the cause of his liberation.

From this time he seems to have taken a more active part in the great political events of the period. In 1623 he was returned member for Lancaster, and in the first two years of the reign of Charles the First for Great Bedwin, in Wiltshire. He was one of the committee for forming articles of impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham, and was appointed one of the managers at his proposed trial. He was one of the firmest and most distinguished opposers of the unconstitutional measure of levying money on the authority of the prerogative; and pleaded for Hampden, who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay the ship-money. It was now that his opposition to the corruptions of the government took a decided form: and on all important discussions in parliament, he was looked up to, and listened to, with

the greatest reverence. In consequence of the weight of his opinion with the house, and the influence of his speeches on their decisions, the government found it expedient to take measures to prevent his attendance; and, in consequence, a charge of having uttered seditious expressions was preferred against him, and he was committed to the Tower in March, 1628. When he had been imprisoned some months, it was proposed that he should be discharged, on giving security for his future good conduct; but this he would not accede to, and was therefore removed to the King's Bench prison. A prosecution in the Star Chamber was soon after commenced against him for the publication of an alleged libel: this was a work written by Sir Robert Dudley, in the reign of James, under the title of "A Proposition for his Majesty's Service, to bridle the impertinence of Parliaments." By the favor of some powerful friends, his imprisonment was commuted for a nominal confinement in the Gatehouse, Westminster, which enabled him to retire into the country for about three months; he was then again committed to the King's Bench, and remained there until May, 1631, when he was admitted to bail, and continued to be bailed, from term to term, till July, 1634, when he was finally discharged without trial, having repeatedly pressed for a writ of Habeas Corpus without effect. During this period, the fruits of his literary occupations were four very learned treatises on ancient Jewish Law.

In the year 1635, he published, at the king's express desire, his "Mare Clausum," written many

years before in answer to Grotius, who, in his "*Mare Liberum*," had contended for the right of the Dutch to trade to the Indies, and to fish in the British seas. So important was the work esteemed to the interests of the kingdom, that "Sir William Beecher, one of the clerks of the council, was sent with a copy of it to the barons of the exchequer, in the open court, that it might be by them laid up as a most inestimable jewel among the choice records which concerned the crown." The court now looked upon him, "as a person worth the gaining"; he was, from this time, a frequent and welcome guest at Lambeth-house; and it was then generally believed that he might have chosen his own preferment in the state, had not his political opinions and practice remained inflexibly unchanged.

In the parliaments of 1640 - 1, he represented the University of Oxford, and was among the most distinguished of those in opposition to the court: he joined in the measures for the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud. For this last part of his conduct he has been censured by some of his biographers, as disdaining the ties of private gratitude. It is true, he had been in habits of intimacy with the prelate; but what were the obligations he had received from him, that should make him forget what he considered his duty to his country, we are not told.

In 1642, Charles wished to have made Selden lord chancellor, but he declined it upon the plea of ill health. In 1643, he was appointed one of the lay-members to sit in the Assembly of Divines at West-

minster, "at which time," says Wood, "he took the covenant, and silenced and puzzled the great theologians thereof in their respective meetings." "Sometimes," as Whitelocke relates, "when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, perhaps in their little pocket-bibles, with gilt leaves, which they would often pull out and read, the translation might be thus, but the Greek or Hebrew signified thus or thus, and so would totally silence them." A single instance of his wit on these occasions, may amuse the reader. In attempting to ascertain the exact distance between some place on the sea-coast and Jerusalem, one of the ministers suggested, that "as fish was frequently carried from the first to the latter, the interval did not probably exceed thirty miles." This inference was about to be adopted, when Selden unfortunately observed, that in all likelihood it was *salt-fish*! — Soon after he was appointed keeper of the records in the Tower.

In 1645, he became one of the commissioners of the Admiralty; and the next year five thousand pounds were publicly voted him in consideration of his services and sufferings in the public cause, but with true magnanimity he declined accepting it. While the great mass of his political compeers had been swayed by ambition, vanity, resentment, or avarice, patriotism had been the motive, and the law of the land the index of his conduct. In his political opinions, he seems to have entertained a high respect for the sacredness of the social contract; and he justified the resistance to the Stuarts, on the ground that they had infringed and violated this compact

between the prince and the people. Thus far he had been active in promoting what he deemed a necessary reform in the state ; but from the scenes of anarchy and confusion which followed, he retired with a clear conscience, and returned to the prosecution of his beloved studies with eagerness. At this period, he commenced a work of stupendous erudition, which he published in parts, entitled "*De Synedriis et Præfecturis Veterum Hebræorum*": he lived, but to finish three books. Shortly before his death, he wrote also a preface to the "*Decem Scriptores Anglicani*," a collection of monkish historians, published by Sir R. Twysden ; and a vindication of his "*Mare Clausum*," which contains some particulars of his own history. Of his works, which are very numerous, a list may be found in the *Biographia Britannica*. They were collected and published in six volumes, folio, by the learned Dr. Wilkins, in 1726.

"At length," says Wood, "after this great light of our nation had lived to about the age of man, it was extinguished on the last of November, 1654." He died of a gradual decline at the Carmelite, or Friary House, in White Friars, which he possessed, with other property, to a very considerable amount, by the bequest of Elizabeth, countess dowager of Kent, with whom he had lived in the strictest amity, as he had also done with the earl in his life-time. He died very rich, having lived a bachelor, in the exercise of a lucrative profession, with no disposition to expense, beyond the formation of a most extensive and valuable library, which he had once bequeathed to

the University of Oxford, but revoked the legacy on account of some disgust taken at being required to give a bond as security for the loan of a manuscript: it was therefore left at the disposal of his executors, but he directed it not to be sold. They had intended bestowing it on the society of the Inner Temple, and it actually remained for five years in chambers hired for the purpose; but no preparations being made for building a room to contain it, the executors placed it at length in the Bodleian Library, where it remains, with his other collections.

He was buried, by his own direction, in the Temple church, on the south side of the round walk: his funeral was splendid, and attended by all the judges, benchers, and great officers, with a concourse of the most distinguished persons of the time.

Mr. Richard Johnson, Master of the Temple, buried him, according to the Directory, and said in his speech, that "when a learned man dies, a great deal of learning dies with him," and added, that "if learning could have kept a man alive, our brother had not died."

"Mr. Selden," says the Earl of Clarendon, "was a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages, (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent writings,) that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred

in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His style in all his writings seems harsh, and sometimes obscure ; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men, but to a little undervaluing the beauty of style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity ; but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty of making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to say, that he valued himself upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young, and held it with great delight as long as they were suffered to continue together in London ; and he was very much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in London and in the parliament, after they were in rebellion, and in the worst times, which his age obliged him to do ; and how wicked soever the actions were which were every day done, he was confident he had not given his consent to them, but would have hindered them if he could with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent. If he had some infirmities with other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellencies in the other scale."

To Lord Clarendon's delineation of his character may be added what Whitelocke says of him ; "that his mind was as great as his learning, being very

generous and hospitable, and a good companion, especially where he liked." Dr. Wilkins says, "he was naturally of a serious temper, which was somewhat soured by his sufferings ; so that he was free only with a few."

While in parliament Selden took an active and useful part in many important discussions and transactions. He appears to have been regarded somewhat in the light of a valuable piece of national property, like a museum, or great public library, resorted to, as a matter of course and a matter of right, in all the numerous cases in which assistance was wanted from any part of the whole compass of legal and historical learning. He appeared in the national council, not so much the representative of the contemporary inhabitants of a particular city, as of all the people of all past ages ; concerning whom and whose institutions, he was deemed to know whatever was to be known, and to be able to furnish whatever, within so vast a retrospect, was of a nature to give light and authority in the decision of questions arising in a doubtful and hazardous state of the national affairs.

"After all," says one of his biographers, "the most endearing part of Mr. Selden's character is elegantly touched by himself in the choice of his motto :"

Περί πάντος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

LIBERTY ABOVE ALL THINGS.

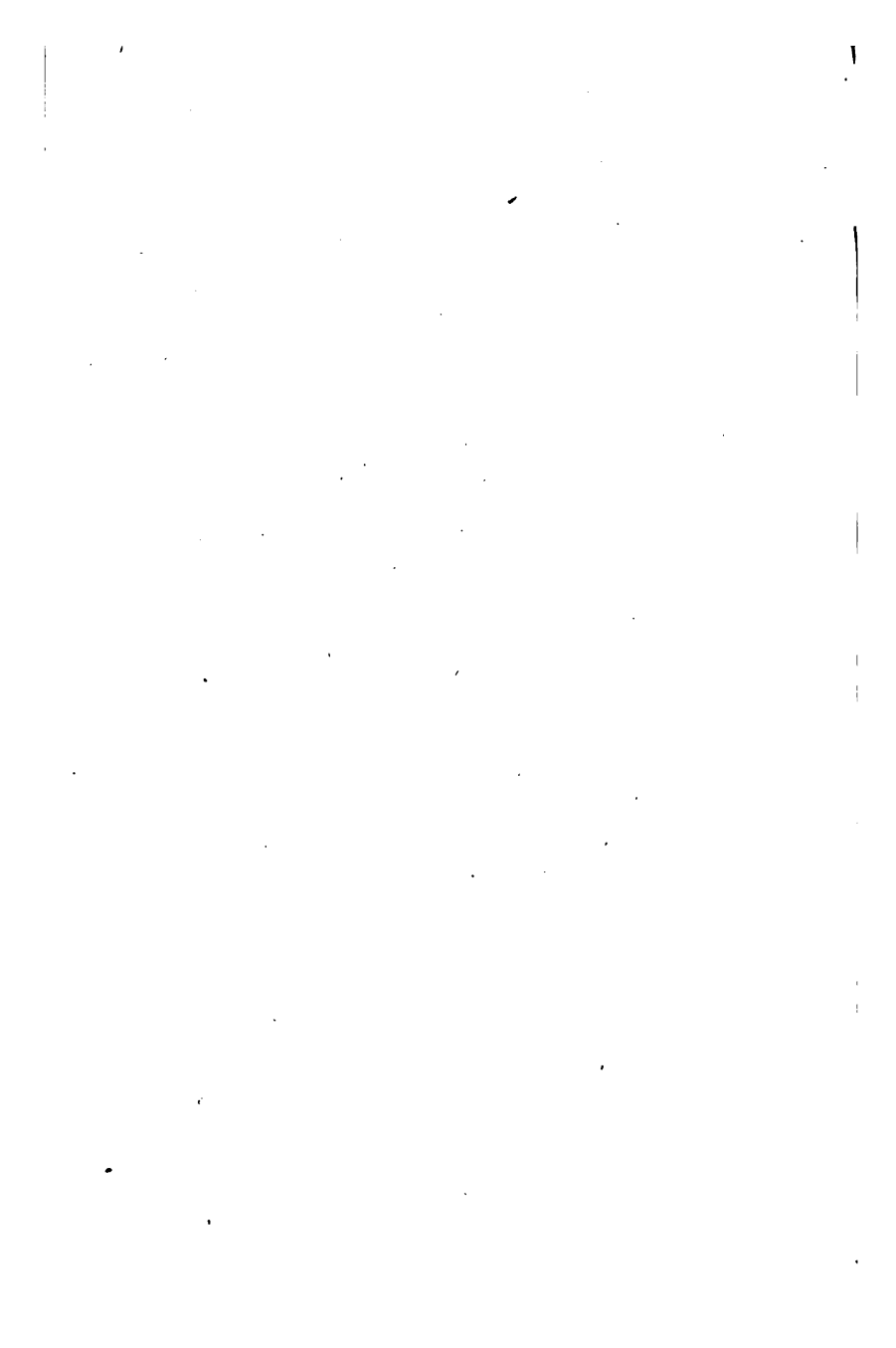
It must be considered highly interesting to be admitted into the confidence, and to learn the private sentiments of so distinguished an individual ; to hear

him conversing in the midst of his friends, and delivering his opinion on a great variety of topics, literary, political, and theological. We find ourselves thus admitted to Selden's domestic society, by the reverential zeal of his secretary or amanuensis, Richard Milward. This person professes to have enjoyed opportunities of listening to his conversation for twenty successive years; and "lest all those excellent things that usually fell from him might be lost," he from time to time committed some of them to writing, and the collection was sent to the press in 1689, thirty-five years after the death of his patron.

Dr. Wilkins, the learned editor of Selden's works, has expressed a doubt with respect to the genuineness of at least some part of this very curious volume. It certainly contains opinions which a zealous churchman could not be expected to relish; but the texture of the whole is too remarkable to have originated from any obscure fabricator. Here we at once recognise the characteristics of Selden's conversation, as described by his friend Lord Clarendon; namely, the clearness of his conceptions, and the faculty of presenting abstruse subjects in a familiar manner to the understanding; and if all his writings had perished, this casual record of his thoughts would alone have been sufficient to recommend him to posterity as a person of a very inquisitive and sagacious mind. It is highly probable, that the apprehension or memory of his amanuensis may occasionally have deceived himself, but we must not rashly presume that he had any intention of deceiving others. Some of the sentiments imputed to Selden

have an appearance of moral laxity ; but it must be recollected that only fragments of his conversation are here recorded, and that in the warmth of debate, or the freedom of familiar intercourse, speculative men are too apt to propose opinions to which they do not deliberately adhere.

It is true, likewise, that the familiar, and sometimes coarse manner, in which many of the subjects discussed are illustrated, is not such as might have been expected from a profound scholar ; but Selden, with all his learning, was a man of the world, familiar with the ordinary scenes of common life, and knew how to bring abstruse subjects home to the business and bosoms of men of ordinary capacity, in a manner at once perspicuous and agreeable.



TO THE HONORABLE
MR. JUSTICE HALE,
ONE OF THE JUDGES OF THE COMMON PLEAS,
AND TO THE MUCH HONORED
EDWARD HEYWARD, JOHN VAUGHAN,
AND
ROWLAND JEWKS, ESQUIRES.

MOST WORTHY GENTLEMEN,

WERE you not executors to that person, who, while he lived, was the glory of the nation, yet I am confident any thing of his would find acceptance with you ; and truly the sense and notion here is wholly his, and most of the words. I had the opportunity to hear his discourse twenty years together ; and lest all those excellent things that usually fell from him might be lost, some of them from time to time I faith-

fully committed to writing, which, here digested into this method, I humbly present to your hands. You will quickly perceive them to be his by the familiar illustrations wherewith they are set off, and in which way you know he was so happy, that, with a marvellous delight to those that heard him, he would presently convey the highest points of religion and the most important affairs of state to an ordinary apprehension.

In reading be pleased to distinguish times, and in your fancy carry along with you the *when* and the *why* many of these things were spoken : this will give them the more life and the smarter relish. 'T is possible the entertainment you find in them may render you the more inclinable to pardon the presumption of

Your most obliged and

most humble servant,

RI. MILWARD.

TABLE-TALK.*

ABBEYS, PRIORIES.

1. THE unwillingness of the monks to part with their land, will fall out to be just nothing, because they were yielded up to the king by a supreme hand, viz. a parliament. If a king conquer another country, the people are loath to lose their lands; yet no divine will deny but the king may give them to whom he please. If a parliament make a law concerning leather, or any other commodity, you and I, for example, are parliament men; perhaps, in respect to our own private interests, we are against it;

* The original title was as follows; "Table-Talk, being the Discourses of John Selden, Esq., or his sense of various matters of weight and high consequence, relating especially to religion and state."

yet the major part conclude it; we are then involved, and the law is good.

2. When the founders of abbeys laid a curse upon those that should take away those lands, I would fain know what power they had to curse me. 'Tis not the curses that come from the poor, or from any body, that hurt me because they come from them, but because I do something ill against them that deserves God should curse me for it. On the other side, 't is not a man's blessing me that makes me blessed: he only declares me to be so; and if I do well I shall be blessed, whether any bless me or not.

3. At the time of dissolution, they were tender in taking from the abbots and priors their lands and their houses, till they surrendered them, as most of them did. Indeed the prior of St. John's, Sir Richard Weston, being a stout man, got into France, and stood out a whole year, at last submitted, and the king took in that priory also, to which the Temple belonged, and many other houses in England. They did not then cry, no abbots, no priors, as we do now, no bishops, no bishops.

4. Henry the Fifth put away the friars, aliens, and seized to himself £100,000 a year; and therefore they were not the Protestants only that took away church lands.

5. In Queen Elizabeth's time, when all the abbeys were pulled down, all good works defaced, then the preachers must cry up justification by faith, not by good works.

ARTICLES.

THE nine and thirty articles are much another thing in Latin, in which tongue they were made, than they are translated into English. They were made at three several convocations, and confirmed by act of parliament six or seven times after. There is a secret concerning them: of late ministers have subscribed to all of them; but by act of parliament that confirmed them, they ought only to subscribe to those articles which contain matter of faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as appears by the first subscriptions.* But Bishop Bancroft, in the convocation held in King James's days, he began it, that ministers should subscribe to three things, to the king's supremacy, to the common prayer, and to the thirty-nine articles: many of them do not contain matter

* A more ample and satisfactory discussion of this subject may be found in Blackburne's Confessional.

of faith. Is it matter of faith how the church should be governed? whether infants should be baptized? whether we have any property in our goods? &c.

BAPTISM.

1. 'T WAS a good way to persuade men to be christened, to tell them that they had a foulness about them, viz. original sin, that could not be washed away but by baptism.

2. The baptizing of children with us does only prepare a child, against he comes to be a man, to understand what Christianity means. In the church of Rome it has this effect, it frees children from hell. They say they go into "limbus infantum." It succeeds circumcision, and we are sure the child understood nothing of that at eight days' old: why then may not we as reasonably baptize a child at that age? In England, of late years, I ever thought the parson baptized his own fingers rather than the child.

3. In the primitive times they had god-fathers to see the children brought up in the Christian religion, because many times, when the father was a Christian, the mother was not,

and sometimes when the mother was a Christian, the father was not; and therefore they made choice of two or more that were Christians to see their children brought up in that faith.

BASTARD.

'T is said, the xxiii. of Deuteron. 2. "A bastard shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation." "Non ingredietur in ecclesiam Domini," he shall not enter into the church. The meaning of the phrase is, he shall not marry a Jewish woman. But upon this, grossly mistaken, a bastard at this day in the church of Rome, without a dispensation, cannot take orders: the thing haply well enough where 't is so settled; but that 't is upon a mistake, (the place having no reference to the church,) appears plainly by what follows at the third verse: "An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation." Now you know, with the Jews an Ammonite or a Moabite could never be a priest, because their priests were born so, not made.

BIBLE, SCRIPTURE.

1. 'T is a great question how we know Scripture to be Scripture, whether by the church, or by man's private spirit. Let me ask you, how I know any thing ? how I know this carpet to be green ? First, because somebody told me it was green : that you call the church in your way. Then after I have been told it is green, when I see that color again, I know it to be green ; my own eyes tell me it is green : that you call the private spirit.

2. The English translation of the Bible is the best translation in the world, and renders the sense of the original best, taking in for the English translation, the Bishops' Bible,* as well as King James's. The translation in King James's time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue, as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downs ; and then they met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the

* This translation, executed under the direction of Archbishop Parker, was published at London, in folio, in the year 1568. Eight of the translators were bishops, and from this circumstance the book was commonly called the Bishops' Bible. See Archbishop's Newcome's " Historical View of the English Biblical Translations."

learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c. If they found any fault, they spoke ; if not, he read on.

3. There is no book so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French book into English, I turn it into English phrase, not into French English. " Il fait froid " ; I say 't is cold, not, it makes cold ; but the Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrase. The Hebraisms are kept, and the phrase of that language is kept : as for example, " he uncovered her shame " ; which is well enough, so long as scholars have to do with it ; but when it comes among the common people, Lord, what gear do they make of it !

4. " Scrutamini Scripturas." These two words have undone the world. Because Christ spake it to his disciples, therefore we must all, men, women, and children, read and interpret the Scripture.

5. Henry the Eighth made a law, that all men might read the Scripture, except servants ; but no woman, except ladies and gentlewomen who had leisure, and might ask somebody the meaning. The law was repealed in Edward the Sixth's days.

6. Laymen have best interpreted the hard places in the Bible, such as Johannes Picus, Scaliger, Grotius, Salmasius, Heinsius, &c.

7. If you ask which, of Erasmus, Beza, or Grotius, did best upon the New Testament, 't is an idle question ; for they all did well in their way. Erasmus broke down the first brick, Beza added many things, and Grotius added much to him ; in whom we have either something new, or something heightened that was said before, and so 't was necessary to have them all three.

8. The text serves only to guess by ; we must satisfy ourselves fully out of the authors that lived about those times.

9. In interpreting the Scripture, many do as if a man should see one have ten pounds which he reckoned by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, meaning four was but four units, and five, five units, &c., and that he had in all but ten pounds : the other that sees him, takes not the figures together as he doth, but picks here and there, and thereupon reports that he hath five pounds in one bag, and six pounds in another bag, and nine pounds in another bag, &c., when as in truth he hath but ten pounds in all. So we pick out a text here and there to make it serve our turn ; whereas if we take it altogether, and considered what went before and what followed after, we should find it meant no such thing.

10. Make no more allegories in Scripture than needs must. The fathers were too frequent in them; they indeed, before they fully understood the literal sense, looked out for an allegory. The folly whereof you may conceive thus: here at the first sight appears to me in my window a glass and a book; I take it for granted 't is a glass and a book; thereupon I go about to tell you what they signify: afterwards, upon nearer view, they prove no such thing; one is a box made like a book; the other is a picture made like a glass. Where's now my allegory?

11. When men meddle with the literal text, the question is, where they should stop. In this case, a man must venture his discretion, and do his best to satisfy himself and others in those places where he doubts; for although we call the Scripture the word of God, as it is, yet it was writ by a man, a mercenary man, whose copy either might be false, or he might make it false: for example, here were a thousand Bibles printed in England with the text thus "Thou shalt commit adultery," the word "not," left out. Might not this text be mended?

12. The Scripture may have more senses besides the literal, because God understands all things at once; but a man's writing has but

one true sense, which is that which the author meant when he writ it.

13. When you meet with several readings of the text, take heed you admit nothing against the tenets of your church, but do as if you were going over a bridge; be sure you hold fast by the rail, and then you may dance here and there as you please; be sure you keep to what is settled, and then you may flourish upon your various lections.

14. The Apocrypha is bound with the Bibles of all churches that have been hitherto. Why should we leave it out? The church of Rome has her Apocrypha, viz. Susanna, and Bell and the Dragon, which she does not esteem equally with the rest of those books that we call Apocrypha.

BISHOPS BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT.

1. A BISHOP, as a bishop, had never any ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for as soon as he was "electus confirmatus," that is, after the three proclamations in Bow-church, he might exercise jurisdiction, before he was consecrated; not till then, he was no bishop, neither

could he give orders. Besides, suffragans were bishops, and they never claimed any jurisdiction.

2. Anciently, the noblemen lay within the city for safety and security. The bishops' houses were by the water side, because they were held sacred persons which nobody would hurt.

3. There was some sense for "commendams:" at first, when there was a living void, and never a clerk to serve it, the bishops were to keep it till they found a fit man; but now it is a trick for the bishop to keep it for himself.

4. For a bishop to preach, 'tis to do other folks' office, as if the steward of the house should execute the porter's or the cook's place: it is his business to see that they and all other about the house perform their duties.

5. That which is thought to have done the bishops hurt, is their going about to bring men to a blind obedience, imposing things upon them, though perhaps small and well enough, without preparing them, and insinuating into their reasons and fancies. Every man loves to know his commander. I wear those gloves, but, perhaps, if an alderman should command me, I should think much to do it: what has he to do with me? Or, if he has, peradventure I do not know it. This jumping upon things at

first dash will destroy all : to keep up friendship, there must be little addresses and applications, whereas bluntness spoils it quickly : to keep up the hierarchy, there must be little applications made to men ; they must be brought on by little and little : so in the primitive times, the power was gained, and so it must be continued. Scaliger said of Erasmus, "*Si minor esse voluit, major fuisset.*" So we may say of the bishops, "*Si minores esse voluerint, majores fuissent.*"

6. The bishops were too hasty, else, with a discreet slowness, they might have had what they aimed at : the old story of the fellow, that told the gentleman he might get to such a place, if he did not ride too fast, would have fitted their turn.

7. For a bishop to cite an old canon to strengthen his new articles, is as if a lawyer should plead an old statute that has been repealed God knows how long.

BISHOPS IN THE PARLIAMENT.

1. BISHOPS have the same right to sit in parliament as the best earls and barons, that is,

those that were made by writ : if you ask one of them, (Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland) why they sit in the house, they can only say, their fathers sat there before them, and their grandfather before him, &c. and so say the bishops; he that was a bishop of this place before me sat in the house, and he that was a bishop before him, &c. Indeed, your later earls and barons have it expressed in their patents, that they shall be called to the parliament. *Objection.* But the lords sit there by blood, the bishops not. *Answer.* It is true, they sit not there both the same way, yet that takes not away the bishop's right : if I am a parson of a parish, I have as much right to my glebe and tithe, as you have to your land, which your ancestors have had in that parish eight hundred years.

2. The bishops were not barons because they had baronies annexed to their bishoprics; (for few of them had so, unless the old ones, Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, &c. the new erected we are sure had none, as Gloucester, Peterborough,* &c. besides, few of the tempo-

* Henry the Eighth erected six new bishoprics, namely those of Oxford, Bristol, Gloucester, Peterborough, Chester, and Westminster. The last see had only one bishop, and the diocese was again annexed to that of London.

ral lords had any baronies) but they are barons, because they are called by writ to the parliament, and bishops were in the parliament ever since there was any mention or sign of a parliament in England.

3. Bishops may be judged by the peers, though in time of popery it never happened, because they pretended they were not obnoxious to a secular court, but their way was to cry, "Ego sum frater Domini Papæ" — I am brother to my lord the pope, and, therefore, take not myself to be judged by you: in this case, they empannelled a Middlesex jury, and dispatched the business.

4. Whether may bishops be present in cases of blood? *Answer.* That they had a right to give votes appears by this; always, when they did go out, they left a proxy; and in the time of the abbots, one man had ten, twenty, or thirty voices. In Richard the Second's time, there was a protestation against the canons, by which they were forbidden to be present in case of blood. The statute of the twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth may go a great way in this business. The clergy were forbidden to use or cite any canon, &c. but in the latter end of the statute, there was a clause, that such canons that were in usage in this kingdom should be in force till the thirty-two

commissioners appointed should make others, provided they were not contrary to the king's supremacy. Now the question will be, whether these canons for blood were in use in this kingdom or no? the contrary whereof may appear by many precedents, in Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh, and the beginning of Henry the Eighth, in which time there were more attainted than since, or scarce before. The canons of irregularity of blood were never received in England, but upon pleasure. If a lay lord was attainted, the bishops assented to his condemning, and were always present at the passing of the bill of attainder; but, if a spiritual lord, they went out as if they cared not whose head was cut off, so none of their own. In those days, the bishops being of great houses, were often entangled with the lords in matters of treason. But when do you hear of a bishop a traitor now?

5. You would not have bishops meddle with temporal affairs; think who you are that say it. If a Papist, they do in your church, if an English Protestant, they do among you; if a Presbyterian, where you have no bishops, you mean your Presbyterian lay elders should meddle with temporal affairs as well as spiritual: besides, all jurisdiction is temporal, and in no

church but they have some jurisdiction or other. The question then will be reduced to "magis" and "minus;" they meddle more in one church than in another.

6. *Objection.* Bishops give not their votes by blood in parliament, but by an office annexed to them, which being taken away, they cease to vote; therefore, there is not the same reason for them as for temporal lords. *Answer.* We do not pretend they have that power the same way, but they have a right; he that has an office in Westminster-hall for his life, the office is as much his, as his land is his that hath land by inheritance.

7. Whether had the inferior clergy ever any thing to do in the parliament? *Answer.* No, no otherwise than thus: there were certain of the clergy that used to assemble near the parliament, with whom the bishops upon occasion might consult, (but there were none of the convocation, as it was afterwards settled, viz. the dean, the archdeacon, one for the chapter, and two for the diocese) but it happened, by continuance of time, to save charges and trouble, their voices, and the consent of the whole clergy were involved in the bishops; and at this day, the bishops' writs run, to bring all these to the parliament, but the bishops themselves stand for all.

8. Bishops were formerly one of these two conditions; either men bred canonists and civilians, sent up and down ambassadors to Rome and other parts, and so by their merit came to that greatness; or else great noblemen's sons, brothers, and nephews, and so born to govern the state: now they are of a low condition, their education nothing of that way; he gets a living, and then a greater living, and then a greater than that, and so comes to govern.

9. Bishops are now unfit to govern because of their learning; they are bred up in another law, they run to the text for something done amongst the Jews that nothing concerns England: it is just as if a man would have a kettle, and he would not go to our brazier to have it made as they make kettles, but he would have it made as Hiram made his brass-work, who wrought in Solomon's temple.

10. To take away bishops' votes, is but the beginning to take them away; for then they can be no longer useful to the king or state. It is but like the little wimble, to let in the greater auger. *Objection.* But, they are but for their life, and that makes them always go for the king as he will have them. *Answer.* This is against a double charity, for you must always suppose a bad king and bad bishops.

Then again, whether will a man be sooner content, himself should be made a slave, or his son after him? (when we talk of our children, we mean ourselves.) Besides, they that have posterity are more obliged to the king, than they that are only for themselves, in all the reason in the world.

11. How shall the clergy be in the parliament if the bishops are taken away? *Answer.* By the laity, because the bishops, in whom the rest of the clergy are included, assent to the taking away their own votes, by being involved in the major part of the house: this follows naturally.

12. The bishops being put out of the house, whom will they lay the fault upon now? when the dog is beat out of the room, where will they lay the stink?

BISHOPS OUT OF THE PARLIAMENT.

1. In the beginning, bishops and presbyters were alike, like the gentlemen in the country, whereof one is made deputy lieutenant, and another justice of peace; so one is made a bishop, another a dean; and that kind of gov-

ernment by archbishops and bishops, no doubt came in, in imitation of the temporal government, not "jure divino." In time of the Roman empire, where they had a legatus, there they placed an archbishop; where they had a rector, there a bishop; that every one might be instructed in Christianity, which now they had received into the empire.

2. They that speak ingeniously of bishops and presbyters, say, that a bishop is a great presbyter, and during the time of his being bishop, above a presbyter; as your president of the college of physicians is above the rest, yet he himself is no more than a doctor of physic.

3. The words bishop and presbyter are promiscuously used, that is confessed by all: and though the word bishop be in Timothy and Titus, yet that will not prove the bishops ought to have a jurisdiction over the presbyter, though Timothy or Titus had by the order that was given them; somebody must take care of the rest, and that jurisdiction was but to excommunicate, and that was but to tell them they should come no more into their company; or grant they did make canons one for another, before they came to be in the state, does it follow they must do so when the state has received them into it? What if Timothy

had power in Ephesus, and Titus in Crete, over the presbyters? does it follow therefore the bishop must have the same in England? must we be governed like Ephesus and Crete?

4. However some of the bishops pretend to be "jure divino," yet the practice of the kingdom had ever been otherwise; for whatever bishops do otherwise than the law permits, Westminster-hall can control, or send them to absolve, &c.

5. He that goes about to prove bishops "jure divino," does as a man that having a sword shall strike it against an anvil: if he strikes it awhile there, he may peradventure loosen it, though it be never so well riveted: 't will serve to strike another sword, or cut flesh, but not against an anvil.

6. If you should say you hold your land by Moses or God's law, and would try it by that, you may perhaps lose, but by the law of the kingdom you are sure of it: so may the bishops by this plea of "jure divino" lose all. The pope had as good a title by the law of England as could be had, had he not left that, and claimed by power from God.

7. There is no government enjoined by example, but by precept; it does not follow we must have bishops still, because we have had them so long. They are equally mad who

say bishops are so "jure divino," that they must be continued, and they who say they are so antichristian, that they must be put away : all is as the state pleases.

8. To have no ministers but presbyters, it is as in the temporal state they should have no officers but constables. Bishops do best stand with monarchy ; that as amongst the laity you have dukes, lords, lieutenants, judges, &c. to send down the king's pleasure to his subjects — so you have bishops to govern the inferior clergy : these upon occasion may address themselves to the king ; otherwise, every parson of the parish must come, and run up to the court.

9. The Protestants have no bishops in France, because they live in a Catholic country, and they will not have Catholic bishops ; therefore, they must govern themselves as well as they may.

10. What is that to the purpose, to what end were bishops' lands given to them at first ? you must look to the law and custom of the place. What is that to any temporal lord's estate, how lands were first divided, or how in William the Conqueror's days ? And if men at first were juggled out of their estates, yet they are rightly their successors. If my father

cheat a man, and he consent to it, the inheritance is rightly mine.

11. If there be no bishops, there must be something else, which has the power of bishops, though it be in many; and then had you not as good keep them? If you will have no half-crowns, but only single pence, yet thirty single pence are half a crown; and then had you not as good keep both? But the bishops have done ill: it was the men, not the function; as if you should say, you would have no more half-crowns, because they were stolen; when the truth is, they were not stolen because they were half-crowns, but because they were money, and light in a thief's hand.

12. They that would pull down the bishops, and erect a new way of government, do as he that pulls down an old house, and builds another, in another fashion; there is a great deal of do, and a great deal of trouble; the old rubbish must be carried away, and new materials must be brought; workmen must be provided — and perhaps the old one would have served as well.

13. If the parliament and presbyterian party should dispute, who should be judge? Indeed, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth, there was such a difference between the Protestants and Papists, and Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord

chancellor, was appointed to be judge ; but the conclusion was, the stronger party carried it : for so religion was brought into kingdoms, so it has been continued, and so it may be cast out, when the state pleases.

14. It will be a great discouragement to scholars that bishops should be put down ; for now the father can say to his son, and the tutor to his pupil, " Study hard, and you shall have ' vocem et sedem in parlamento ; ' " then it must be, " Study hard, and you shall have a hundred a year, if you please your parish."

Objection. But they that enter into the ministry for preferment, are like Judas that looked after the bag. *Answer.* It may be so, if they turn scholars at Judas's age ; but what arguments will they use to persuade them to follow their books while they are young ?

BOOKS, AUTHORS.

1. THE giving a bookseller his price for his books has this advantage : he that will do so, shall have the refusal of whatsoever comes to his hand, and so by that means get many things, which, otherwise, he never should have seen.

2. In buying books or other commodities, it is not always the best way to bid half so much as the seller asks : witness the country fellow that went to buy two groat shillings ; they asked him three shillings, and he bid them eighteen pence.

3. They counted the price of the books (Acts, xix. 19) and found fifty thousand pieces of silver, that is so many sestertii, or so many three half-pence of our money, about three hundred pounds sterling.

4. Popish books teach and inform : what we know, we know much out of them. The fathers, church story, schoolmen, all may pass for Popish books ; and if you take away them, what learning will you leave ? Besides, who must be judge ? the customer or the waiter ? If he disallows a book, it must not be brought into the kingdom ; then Lord have mercy upon all scholars. These Puritan preachers, if they have any things good, they have it out of Popish books, though they will not acknowledge it, for fear of displeasing the people : he is a poor divine that cannot sever the good from the bad.

5. It is good to have translations, because they serve as a comment, so far as the judgment of the man goes.

6. In answering a book, it is best to be short, otherwise he that I write against will suspect I intend to weary him, not to satisfy him: besides, in being long, I shall give my adversary a huge advantage; somewhere or other he will pick a hole.

7. In quoting of books, quote such authors as are usually read; others you may read for your own satisfaction, but not name them.

8. Quoting of authors is most for matter of fact; and then I write them as I would produce a witness; sometimes for a free expression, and then I give the author his due, and gain myself praise by reading him.

9. To quote a modern Dutchman, where I may use a classic author, is as if I were to justify my reputation, and I neglect all persons of note and quality that know me, and bring the testimonial of the scullion in the kitchen.

CANON LAW.

If I would study the canon law as it is used in England, I must study the heads here in use, then go to the practisers in those courts where that law is practised, and know their customs. So for all the study in the world.

CEREMONY.

1. CEREMONY keeps up all things : 't is like a penny-glass to a rich spirit, or some excellent water ; without it the water were spilt, the spirit lost.

2. Of all people, ladies have no reason to cry down ceremony ; for they take themselves slighted without it. And were they not used with ceremony, with compliments and addresses, with legs and kissing of hands, they were the pitifulest creatures in the world. But yet, methinks, to kiss their hands after their lips, as some do, is like little boys, that after they eat the apple, fall to the paring, out of a love they have to the apple.

CHANCELLOR.

1. THE bishop is not to sit with a chancellor in his court, (as being a thing either beneath him, or beside him,) no more than the king is to sit in the king's bench when he has made a lord chief justice.

2. The chancellor governed in the church, who was a layman : and therefore 't is false which they charge the bishops with, that they

challenge sole jurisdiction : for the bishop can no more put out the chancellor, than the chancellor the bishop. They were many of them made chancellors for their lives ; and he is the fittest man to govern, because divinity so overwhelms the rest.*

CHANGING SIDES.

1. IT is the trial of a man to see if he will change his side ; and if he be so weak as to change once, he will change again. Your country fellows have a way to try if a man be weak in the hams, by coming behind him, and giving him a blow unawares ; if he bend once, he will bend again.

2. The lords that fall from the king, after they have got estates by base flattery at court, and now pretend conscience, do as a vintner, that when he first sets up, you may bring your wench to his house, and do your things there ; but when he grows rich, he turns conscien-

* Selden here alludes to the chancellors of dioceses ; several of whom are still laymen. Instead of " for their lives," the context would lead us to expect " for their knowledge of the laws," or some equivalent expression. The lay chancellors have generally been civilians.

tious, and will sell no wine upon the sabbath day.

3. Colonel Goring, serving first the one side and then the other, did like a good miller that knows how to grind which way soever the wind sits.

4. After Luther had made a combustion in Germany about religion, he was sent to by the pope, to be taken off, and offered any preferment in the church, that he would make choice of. Luther answered, if he had offered half as much at first, he would have accepted it ; but now he had gone so far, he could not come back. In truth he had made himself a greater thing than they could make him : the German princes courted him ; he was become the author of a sect ever after to be called Lutherans. So have our preachers done that are against the bishops : they have made themselves greater with the people than they can be made the other way ; and therefore there is the less charity probably in bringing them off. Charity to strangers is enjoined in the text. By strangers is there understood those that are not of our own kin, strangers to your blood, not those you cannot tell whence they came ; that is, be charitable to your neighbours whom you know to be honest poor people.

CHRISTMAS.

1. CHRISTMAS succeeds the Saturnalia, the same time, the same number of holidays : then the master waited upon the servant, like the lord of misrule.

2. Our meats and our sports, much of them, have relation to church-works. The coffin of our Christmas pies, in shape long, is in imitation of the cratch : our choosing kings and queens on twelfth-night, hath reference to the three kings. So likewise our eating of fritters, whipping of tops, roasting of herrings, Jack of Lents, &c., they were all in imitation of church-works, emblems of martyrdom. Our tansies at Easter have reference to the bitter herbs ; though at the same time 't was always the fashion for a man to have a gammon of bacon, to show himself to be no Jew.

CHRISTIANS.

1. IN the high church of Jerusalem, the Christians were but another sect of Jews, that did believe the *Messias* was come. To be called, was nothing else but to become a Christian, to have the name of a Christian, it being

their own language ; for amongst the Jews, when they made a doctor of law, 't was said he was called.

2. The Turks tell their people of a heaven where there is sensible pleasure, but of a hell where they shall suffer they don't know what. The Christians quite invert this order ; they tell us of a hell where we shall feel sensible pain, but of a heaven where we shall enjoy we can't tell what.

3. Why did the heathens object to the Christians, that they worship an ass's head ? * You must know, that to a heathen, a Jew and a Christian were all one ; that they regarded him not, so as he was not one of them. Now that of the ass's head might proceed from such a mistake as this ; by the Jews' law, all the firstlings of cattle were to be offered to God, except a young ass, which was to be redeemed :

* " *Audire eos turpissimæ pecudis caput asini consecratum ineptâ nescio quâ persuasione venerari.*" (Minucius Felix.) Selden has justly remarked, that the Jews and Christians were generally confounded with each other ; and accordingly Tacitus affirms, that the Jews placed the image of a beast, doubtless of an ass, in the holy of holies. "*Effigiem animalis, quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrali sacravêre.*" Ernesti, in his note on this passage, refers to several writers who have investigated the origin of so ridiculous a fable.

a heathen being present, and seeing young calves and young lambs killed at their sacrifices, only young asses redeemed, might very well think they had that silly beast in some high estimation, and thence might imagine they worshipped it as a god.

CHURCH.

1. HERETOFORE the kingdom let the church alone, let them do what they would, because they had something else to think of, viz. wars; but now in time of peace, we begin to examine all things, will have nothing but what we like, grow dainty and wanton; just as in a family the heir uses to go a hunting; he never considers how his meal is drest, takes a bit, and away; but when he stays within, then he grows curious; he does not like this, nor he does not like that; he will have his meat drest his own way, or peradventure he will dress it himself.

2. It hath ever been the gain of the church, when the king will let the church have no power, to cry down the king and cry up the church; but when the church can make use of the king's power, then to bring all under the king's prerogative. The Catholics of England go one way, and the court clergy another.

3. A glorious church is like a magnificent feast ; there is all the variety that may be, but every one chooses out a dish or two that he likes, and lets the rest alone :—how glorious soever the church is, every one chooses out of it his own religion, by which he governs himself, and lets the rest alone.

4. The laws of the church are most favorable to the church, because they were the church's own making ; as the heralds are the best gentlemen, because they make their own pedigree.

5. There is a question about that article concerning the power of the church, whether these words, “ of having power in controversies of faith,” were not stolen in ; but 't is most certain they were in the book of articles that was confirmed, though in some editions they have been left out : but the article before tells you who the church is, not the clergy, but “ cœtus fidelium.”

CHURCH OF ROME.

1. BEFORE a juggler's tricks are discovered, we admire him and give him money, but afterwards we care not for them : so 't was before

the discovery of the juggling of the church of Rome.

2. Catholics say, we out of our charity believe they of the church of Rome may be saved, but they do not believe so of us ; therefore their church is better according to ourselves. First, some of them no doubt believe as well of us as we do of them, but they must not say so. Besides, is that an argument their church is better than ours, because it has less charity ?

3. One of the church of Rome will not come to our prayers ; does that agree he doth not like them ? I would fain see a Catholic leave his dinner, because a nobleman's chaplain says grace. Nor haply would he leave the prayers of the church, if going to church were not made a mark of distinction between a Protestant and a Papist.

CHURCHES.

THE way of coming into our great churches was anciently at the west door, that men might see the altar and all the church before them ; the other doors were but posterns.

CITY.

1. ~~WHAT~~ makes a city ; whether a bishopric or any of that nature ? *Answer.* 'T is according to the first charter which made them a corporation. If they are incorporated by name of "civitas," they are a city ; if by the name of "burgum," then they are a borough.

2. The lord mayor of London, by their first charter, was to be presented to the king ; in his absence, to the lord chief justiciary of England ; afterwards to the lord chancellor ; now to the barons of the exchequer : but still there was a reservation, that for their honor they should come once a year to the king, as they do still.

CLERGY.

1. ~~THOUGH~~ a clergyman have no faults of his own, yet the faults of the whole tribe shall be laid upon him, so that he shall be sure not to lack.

2. The clergy would have us believe them against our own reason, as the woman would have had her husband against his own eyes : "What ! will you believe your own eyes before your own sweet wife ?"

3. The condition of the clergy towards their prince, and the condition of the physician, is all one: the physicians tell the prince they have agaric and rhubarb, good for him, and good for his subjects' bodies; upon this he gives them leave to use it; but if it prove naught, then away with it, they shall use it no more. So the clergy tell the prince they have physic good for his soul, and good for the souls of his people; upon that he admits them: but when he finds by experience they both trouble him and his people, he will have no more to do with them. What is that to them, or any body else, if a king will not go to heaven?

4. A clergyman goes not a dram further than this, You ought to obey your prince in general. If he does, he is lost. How to obey him, you must be informed by those whose profession it is to tell you. The parson of the Tower, a good discreet man, told Dr. Mosely, (who was sent to me and the rest of the gentlemen, committed the 3d Caroli, to persuade us to submit to the king,) that they found no such words as parliament, habeas corpus, return, tower, &c., neither in the fathers, nor the schoolmen, nor in the text; and therefore, for his part, he believed he understood nothing of the business. A satire upon all those clergymen that meddle with matters they do not understand.

5. All confess there never was a more learned clergy ; no man taxes them with ignorance. But to talk of that, is like the fellow that was a great wench : he wished God would forgive him his lechery, and lay usury to his charge. The clergy have worse faults.

6. The clergy and laity together are never like to do well ; 't is as if a man were to make an excellent feast, and should have his apothecary and his physician come into the kitchen : the cooks, if they were let alone, would make excellent meat ; but then comes the apothecary, and he puts rhubarb into one sauce and agaric into another sauce. Chain up the clergy on both sides.

HIGH COMMISSION.

MEN cry out against the High Commission, as if the clergymen only had to do in it, when I believe there are more laymen in commission there, than clergymen ; if the laymen will not come, whose fault is that ? So of the Star Chamber ; the people think the bishops only censured Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, when there were but two there, and one spake not in his own cause.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1. THERE be but two erroneous opinions in the house of commons ; that the lords sit only for themselves, when the truth is, they sit as well for the commonwealth. The knights and burgesses sit for themselves and others, some for more, some for fewer ; and what is the reason ? Because the room will not hold all. The lords being few, they all come ; and imagine the room able to hold all the commons of England, then the lords and burgesses would sit no otherwise than the lords do. The second error is, that the house of commons are to begin to give subsidies, yet if the lords dissent, they can give no money.

2. The house of commons is called the lower house in twenty acts of parliament, but what are twenty acts of parliament amongst friends ?

3. The form of a charge runs thus : " I accuse, in the name of all the commons of England." How then can any man be as a witness, when every man is made the accuser ?

COMPETENCY.

THAT which is a competency for one man is not enough for another, no more than that

which will keep one man warm, will keep another man warm : one man can go in doublet and hose, when another man cannot be without a cloak, and yet have no more clothes than is necessary for him.

CONFESSION.

1. IN time of parliament it used to be one of the first things the house did, to petition the king that his confessor might be removed, as fearing either his power with the king, or else, lest he should reveal to the pope what the house was in doing ; as no doubt he did when the Catholic cause was concerned.

2. The difference between us and the Papists is, we both allow contrition, but the Papists make confession a part of contrition : they say a man is not sufficiently contrite till he confess his sins to a priest.

3. Why should I think a priest will not reveal confession ? I am sure he will do any thing that is forbidden him, haply not so often as I. The utmost punishment is deprivation ; and how can it be proved that ever any man revealed confession when there is no witness ? and no man can be witness in his own cause.

A mere gullery ! There was a time when 't was public in the church, and that is much against their auricular confession.

GREAT CONJUNCTION.

THE greatest conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter happens but once in eight hundred years, and therefore astrologers can make no experiments of it, nor foretel what it means : not but that the stars may mean something, but we cannot tell what, because we cannot come at them. Suppose a planet were a simple, or an herb, how could a physician tell the virtue of that simple, unless he could come at it, to apply it ?

CONSCIENCE.

1. HE that hath a scrupulous conscience is like a horse that is not well wayed ; he starts at every bird that flies out of the hedge.

2. A knowing man will do that which a tender-conscience man dares not do, by reason of his ignorance ; the other knows there is no hurt ; as a child is afraid to go into the dark

when a man is not, because he knows there is no danger.

3. If we once come to leave that outloose, as to pretend conscience against law, who knows what inconvenience may follow? For thus, suppose an Anabaptist comes and takes my horse, I sue him: he tells me he did according to his conscience; his conscience tells him all things are common amongst the saints, what is mine is his; therefore you do ill to make such a law, if any man takes another's horse he shall be hanged. What can I say to this man? He does according to his conscience. Why is not he as honest a man as he that pretends a ceremony established by law is against his conscience? Generally to pretend conscience against law, is dangerous; in some cases haply we may.

4. Some men make it a case of conscience, whether a man may have a pigeon-house, because his pigeons eat other folks' corn. But there is no such thing as conscience in the business: the matter is, whether he be a man of such quality, that the state allows him to have a dove-house; if so, there's an end of the business; his pigeons have a right to eat where they please themselves.

CONSECRATED PLACES.

1. THE Jews had a peculiar way of consecrating things to God, which we have not.

2. Under the law, God, who was master of all, made choice of a temple to worship in, where he was more especially present : just as the master of the house, who owns all the house, makes choice of one chamber to lie in, which is called the master's chamber. But under the gospel there was no such thing ; temples and churches are set apart for the conveniency of men to worship in : they cannot meet upon the point of a needle ; but God himself makes no choice.

3. All things are God's already ; we can give him no right by consecrating any, that he had not before, only we set it apart to his service. Just as a gardener brings his lord and master a basket of apricots, and presents them ; his lord thanks him, perhaps gives him something for his pains ; and yet the apricots were as much his lord's before as now.

4. What is consecrated, is given to some particular man, to do God service, not given to God, but given to man to serve God : and there's not any thing, lands or goods, but some men or other have it in their power to dispose of as they please. The saying things conse-

crated cannot be taken away, makes men afraid of consecration.

5. Yet consecration has this power ; when a man has consecrated any thing to God, he cannot of himself take it away.

CONTRACTS.

1. IF our fathers have lost their liberty, why may not we labor to regain it? *Answer.* We must look to the contract ; if that be rightly made, we must stand to it : * if we once grant

* Contracts, which do not involve immoral consequences, ought undoubtedly to be fulfilled by those who make them ; but some contracts are so unlawful in their very nature, that they are to be considered as null and void from the beginning. If our fathers had made a formal surrender of their liberty, would their posterity be bound in conscience to continue slaves through each successive generation ? It will as readily be conceded that our ancestors had a right to stipulate, that neither they nor their descendants should ever renounce their spiritual allegiance to the pope. The condition of slavery seems to be utterly inconsistent with the dignity of human nature ; it degrades a man to the level of the inferior animals ; and if it should even be granted that an individual may, by his own act, reduce himself to that condition, it will be extremely hard to prove that he possesses any inherent right to comprehend his offspring in such a stipulation.

we may recede from contracts upon any inconveniency that may afterwards happen, we shall have no bargain kept. If I sell you a horse, and do not like my bargain, I will have my horse again.

2. "Keep your contracts." So far a divine goes ; but how to make our contracts, is left to ourselves ; and as we agree upon the conveying of this horse, or that land, so it must be. If you offer me a hundred pounds for my glove, I tell you what my glove is, a plain glove, pretend no virtue in it, the glove is my own, I profess not to sell gloves, and we agree for an hundred pounds ; I do not know why I may not with a safe conscience take it. The want of that common, obvious distinction of "*jus præceptivum*," and "*jus permissivum*," does much trouble men.

3. Lady Kent articulated with Sir Edward Herbert, that he should come to her when she sent for him, and stay with her as long as she would have him, to which he set his hand ; then he articulated with her, that he should go away when he pleased, and stay away as long as he pleased, to which she set her hand.* This is the epitome of all the contracts in the world, betwixt

* Sir Edward was an eminent lawyer, and was probably retained for his advice by Lady Kent, at an annual salary.

man and man, betwixt prince and subject ; they keep them as long as they like them, and no longer.

COUNCIL.

THEY talk, (but blasphemously enough) that the Holy Ghost is president of their general councils ; when the truth is, the odd man is still the Holy Ghost.

CONVOCATION.

1. WHEN the king sends his writ for a parliament, he sends for two knights for a shire, and two burgesses for a corporation : but when he sends for two archbishops for a convocation, he commands them to assemble the whole clergy ; but they, out of custom among themselves, send to the bishops of their provinces, to will them to bring two clerks for a diocese, the dean, one for the chapter, and the archdeacons ; but to the king, every clergyman is there present.

2. We have nothing so nearly expresses the power of a convocation, in respect of a parlia-

ment, as a court-leet, where they have a power to make bye-laws, as they call them — as that a man shall put so many cows or sheep in the common : but they can make nothing that is contrary to the laws of the kingdom.

C R E E D.

ATHANASIUS'S creed is the shortest — take away the preface, and the force, and the conclusion — which are not part of the creed. In the Nicene creed it is *εἰς ἐκκλησίαν*, “I believe in the church”; but now, as our Common Prayer has it, “I believe one catholic and apostolic church.” They like not creeds, because they would have no forms of faith, as they have none of prayer, though there be more reason for the one than for the other.

D A M N A T I O N.

1. If a physician sees you eat any thing that is not good for your body, to keep you from it, he cries, “It is poison”; if the divine sees you do any thing that is hurtful to your soul,

to keep you from it he cries, "You are damned."

2. To preach long, loud, and damnation, is the way to be cried up: we love a man that damns us, and we run after him again to save us. If a man had a sore leg, and he should go to an honest, judicious chirurgeon, and he should only bid him keep it warm, and anoint with such an oil, an oil well known, that would do the cure; haply, he would not much regard him, because he knows the medicine beforehand an ordinary medicine: but if he should go to a surgeon that should tell him, "Your leg will gangrene within three days, and it must be cut off, and you will die, unless you do something that I could tell you"; what listening would there be to this man! "O, for the Lord's sake, tell me what this is; I will give you any content for your pains."

DEVILS.

1. WHY have we none possessed with devils in England? The old answer is, the Protestants the devil hath already, and the Papists are so holy, he dares not meddle with them. Why, then, beyond seas, where a nun is pos-

essed, when a Hugonot comes into the church, does not the devil hunt them out ? The priest teaches him, you never saw the devil throw up a nun's coats ; mark that, the priest will not suffer it, for then the people will spit at him.

2. Casting out devils is mere juggling ; they never cast out any but what they first cast in : they do it where, for reverence, no man shall dare to examine it ; they do it in a corner, in a mortice-hole, not in the market-place : they do nothing but what may be done by art ; they make the devil fly out of the window, in the likeness of a bat or a rat. Why do they not hold him ? Why in the likeness of a bat, or a rat, or some creature ? that is, why not in some shape we paint him in, with claws and horns ? By this trick they gain much, gain upon men's fancies, and so are revered ; and certainly, if the priest deliver me from him that is my most deadly enemy, I have all the reason in the world to reverence him. *Objection.* But if this be juggling, why do they punish impostures ? *Answer.* For great reason ; because they don't play their part well, and for fear others should discover them ; and so all of them ought to be of the same trade.

3. A person of quality came to my chamber in the Temple, and told me he had two devils in

his head (I wondered what he meant), and, just at that time, one of them bid him kill me. With that I began to be afraid, and thought he was mad. He said he knew I could cure him, and therefore entreated me to give him something, for he was resolved he would go to nobody else. I perceiving what an opinion he had of me, and that it was only melancholy that troubled him, took him in hand, warranted him, if he would follow my directions, to cure him in a short time: I desired him to let me be alone about an hour, and then to come again—which he was very willing to. In the mean time, I got a card, and lapped it up handsome in a piece of taffeta, and put strings to the taffeta; and when he came, gave it to him, to hang about his neck; withal charged him, that he should not disorder himself, neither with eating or drinking, but eat very little of supper, and say his prayers duly when he went to bed; and I made no question but he would be well in three or four days. Within that time I went to dinner to his house, and asked him how he did. He said he was much better, but not perfectly well, for, in truth, he had not dealt clearly with me; he had four devils in his head, and he perceived two of them were gone, with that which I had given him, but the other two troubled him still. “Well,” said I, “I

am glad two of them are gone ; I make no doubt to get away the other two likewise." So I gave him another thing to hang about his neck. Three days after he came to me to my chamber, and professed he was now as well as ever he was in his life, and did extremely thank me for the great care I had taken of him. I, fearing lest he might relapse into the like distemper, told him that there was none but myself, and one physician more in the whole town that could cure the devils in the head, and that was Dr. Harvey, (whom I had prepared) and wished him, if ever he found himself ill in my absence, to go to him, for he could cure his disease as well as myself. The gentleman lived many years, and was never troubled after.

SELF-DENIAL.

It is much the doctrine of the times, that men should not please themselves, but deny themselves every thing they take delight in ; not look upon beauty, wear no good clothes, eat no good meat, &c. which seems the greatest accusation that can be upon the Maker of all good things. If they be not to be used,

why did God make them ? The truth is, they that preach against them, cannot make use of them themselves ; and then again they get esteem by seeming to condemn them. But, mark it, while you live, if they do not please themselves as much as they can ; and we live more by example than precept.

DUEL.

1. A DUEL may still be granted in some cases by the law of England, and only there : that the church allowed it anciently, appears by this ; in their public liturgies there were prayers appointed for the duellists to say ; the judge used to bid them go to such a church and pray, &c. But whether is this lawful ? If you grant any war lawful, I make no doubt but to convince it. War is lawful, because God is the only judge between two that are supreme. Now, if a difference happen between two subjects, and it cannot be decided by human testimony, why may they not put it to God to judge between them, by the permission of the prince ? Nay, what if we should bring it down, for argument's sake, to the sword-men ? One gives me the lie ; it is a great

disgrace to take it; the law has made no provision to give remedy for the injury (if you can suppose any thing an injury for which the law gives no remedy); why am not I, in this case, supreme, and may, therefore, right myself? *

2. A duke ought to fight with a gentleman. The reason is this: the gentleman will say to the duke, "It is true, you hold a higher place in the state than I; there is a great distance between you and me — but your dignity does not privilege you to do me an injury; as soon as ever you do me an injury, you make yourself my equal; and as you are my equal, I challenge you:" and in sense the duke is bound to answer him. This will give you some light to understand the quarrel betwixt a prince and his subjects: though there be a vast distance between them, and they are to obey him, according to their contract, yet he hath no power to do them an injury; then they think themselves as much bound to vindicate their right, as they are to obey his lawful commands, nor is there any other measure of justice left upon earth but arms.

* Selden has elsewhere remarked, that "the divine law and Christianity teach otherwise." (*The Duello, or Single Combat*, chap. iv.) See likewise the *Works of John Hales*, vol. ii. p. 104. *Barbeyrac, Recueil de Discours*, tom. ii. p. 1., and *Maffei, Della Scienza chiamata Cavalleresca*, p. 61, 3^{za} ediz. Venezia, 1716, 8vo.

EPITAPH.

AN epitaph must be made fit for the person for whom it is made : for a man to say all the excellent things that can be said upon one, and call that his epitaph, is as if a painter should make the handsomest piece he can possibly make, and say it was my picture. It holds in a funeral sermon.

EQUITY.

1. EQUITY in law is the same that the spirit is in religion, what every one pleases to make it ; sometimes they go according to conscience, sometimes according to law, sometimes according to the rule of court.

2. Equity is a roguish thing ; for law we have a measure — know what to trust to ; equity is according to the conscience of him that is chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is equity. It is all one as if they should make the standard for the measure we call a foot, a chancellor's foot ; what an uncertain measure would this be ! One chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, a third an indifferent foot : it is the same thing in the chancellor's conscience.

3. That saying, "Do as you would be done to," is often misunderstood; for 't is not thus meant—that I, a private man, should do to you, a private man, as I would have you do to me, but do as we have agreed to do one to another by public agreement. If the prisoner should ask the judge, whether he would be content to be hanged, were he in his case, he would answer—"No": "Then," says the prisoner, "do as you would be done to." Neither of them must do as private men, but the judge must do by him as they have publicly agreed—that is, both judge and prisoner have consented to a law, that if either of them steal, they shall be hanged.

EVIL SPEAKING.

1. HE that speaks ill of another, commonly, before he is aware, makes himself such a one as he speaks against; for if he had civility or breeding, he would forbear such kind of language.

2. A gallant man is above ill words: an example we have in the old lord of Salisbury, who was a great wise man. Stone had called some lord about court, fool; the lord complains, and has Stone whipped: Stone cries, "I might

have called my lord of Salisbury fool often enough, before he would have had me whipped."

3. Speak not ill of a great enemy, but rather give him good words, that he may use you the better, if you chance to fall into his hands. The Spaniard did this when he was dying. His confessor told him, to work him to repentance, how the devil tormented the wicked that went to hell : the Spaniard replying, called the devil, my lord ; " I hope my lord the devil is not so cruel." His confessor reproved him. " Excuse me," said the Don, " for calling him so : I know not into what hands I may fall, and if I happen into his, I hope he will use me the better for giving him good words."

EXCOMMUNICATION.

1. THAT place they bring for excommunication, " Put away from among yourselves that wicked person," 1 Cor. v. chapter, 13th verse, is corrupted in the Greek : for it should be τὸ πονηρόν, put away " that evil " from among you, not τὸν πονηρόν, " that evil person." * Besides, ὁ πονηρὸς is " the devil " in scripture, and it may

* Selden is incorrect in this statement. The reading which he mentions has hardly any evidence in its favor. See Griesbach's N. T. Vol. I. p. 237, note.

be so taken there ; and there is a new edition of Theodoret come out, that has it right, τὸ *πονηρόν*. 'T is true the Christians, before the civil state became Christian, did by covenant and agreement set down how they should live ; and he that did not observe what they agreed upon, should come no more amongst them, that is, be excommunicated. Such men are spoken of by the apostle, Romans i. 31, whom he calls *ἀσυνθέτους καὶ ἀσπόνδους* : the Vulgate has it "*incompositos et sine fœdere*" : the last word is pretty well, but the first not at all. Origen, in his book against Celsus, speaks of the Christians' *συνθήκη* : the translation renders it "*conventus*," as if it signifies a meeting, when it is plain it signifies a covenant ; and the English bible turned the other word well, "*covenant-breakers*." Pliny tells us, the Christians took an oath amongst themselves to live thus and thus.*

2. The other place, "*Dic ecclesiæ*," Tell the church, is but a weak ground to raise excommunication upon, especially from the sacrament, the lesser excommunication ; since when that was spoken the sacrament was not insti-

* "*Seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.*" (Plinii Epistolæ, lib. x. 97.)

tuted. The Jews' "ecclesia" was their sanhedrim, their court : so that the meaning is, if after once or twice admonition, this brother will not be reclaimed, bring him thither.

3. The first excommunication was one hundred and eighty years after Christ, and that by Victor, bishop of Rome : but that was no more than this, that they should communicate and receive the sacrament amongst themselves, not with those of the other opinion ; the controversy, as I take it, being about the feast of Easter. Men do not care for excommunication because they are shut out of the church, or delivered up to Satan, but because the law of the kingdom takes hold of them. After so many days a man cannot sue, no, not for his wife, if you take her from him ; and there may be as much reason to grant it for a small fault, if there be contumacy, as for a great one. In Westminster-hall you may outlaw a man for forty shillings, which is their excommunication, and you can do no more for forty thousand pounds.

4. When Constantine became Christian, he so fell in love with the clergy, that he let them be judges of all things ; but that continued not above three or four years, by reason they were to be judges of matters they understood not, and then they were allowed to meddle with nothing but religion. All jurisdiction belonged

to him, and he scanted them out as much as he pleased, and so things have since continued. They excommunicate for three or four things ; matters concerning adultery, tithes, wills, &c., which is the civil punishment the state allows for such faults. If a bishop excommunicate a man for what he ought not, the judge has power to absolve, and punish the bishop. If they had that jurisdiction from God, why does not the church excommunicate for murder, for theft ? If the civil power might take away all but three things, why may they not take them away too ? If this excommunication were taken away, the presbyters would be quiet ; 't is that they have a mind to, 't is that they would fain be at.

FAITH AND WORKS.

'T WAS an unhappy division that has been made between faith and works. Though in my intellect I may divide them, just as in the candle I know there is both light and heat ; but yet put out the candle, and they are both gone ; one remains not without the other : so 't is betwixt faith and works. Nay, in a right conception " Fides est opus : " if I believe a thing because I am commanded, that is " opus."

FASTING-DAYS.

1. **WHAT** the church debars us one day, she gives us leave to take out in another. First we fast, and then we feast; first there is a carnival, and then a lent.

2. Whether do human laws bind the conscience? If they do, 't is a way to ensnare: if we say they do not, we open the door to disobedience. *Answer.* In this case we must look to the justice of the law, and intention of the lawgiver: if there be no justice in the law, 't is not to be obeyed: if the intention of the lawgiver be absolute, our obedience must be so too. If the intention of the lawgiver enjoin a penalty as a compensation for the breach of the law, I sin not if I submit to the penalty; if it enjoin a penalty as a future enforcement of obedience to the law, then ought I to observe it, which may be known by the often repetition of the law. The way of fasting is enjoined unto them who yet do not observe it. The law enjoins a penalty as an enforcement to obedience; which intention appears by the often calling upon us to keep that law by the king, and the dispensation of the church to such as are not able to keep it, as young children, old folks, diseased men, &c.

FATHERS AND SONS.

IT hath ever been the way for fathers to bind their sons. To strengthen this by the law of the land, every one at twelve years of age is to take the oath of allegiance in court-leets, whereby he swears obedience to the king.

FINES.

THE old law was, that, when a man was fined, he was to be fined "*salvo contenemento*," so as his "countenance might be safe," taking countenance in the same sense as your countryman does, when he says, "If you will come unto my house, I will show you the best countenance I can"; that is, not the best face, but the best entertainment. The meaning of the law was, that so much should be taken from a man, such a gobbet sliced off, that yet notwithstanding he might live in the same rank and condition he lived in before; but now they fine men ten times more than they are worth.

FREE WILL.

THE Puritans who will allow no free will at all, but God does all, yet will allow the subject his liberty to do or not to do, notwithstanding the king, the God upon earth. The Arminians, who hold we have free will, yet say, when we come to the king, there must be all obedience, and no liberty to be stood for.

FRIARS.

1. The friars say they possess nothing ; whose then are the lands they hold ? Not their superior's ; he hath vowed poverty as well as they : whose then ? To answer this, it was decreed they should say they were the pope's. And why must the friars be more perfect than the pope himself ?

2. If there had been no friars, Christendom might have continued quiet, and things remained at a stay.

3. If there had been no lecturers, (which succeed the friars in their way,) the church of England might have stood, and flourished at this day.

FRIENDS.

Old friends are best. King James used to call for his old shoes ; they were easiest for his feet.

GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.


1. THEY that say, the reason why Joseph's pedigree is set down, and not Mary's, is, because the descent from the mother is lost and swallowed up, say something ; but yet if a Jewish woman married with a Gentile, they only took notice of the mother, not of the father. But they that say, they were both of a tribe, say nothing ; for the tribes might marry one with another, and the law against it was only temporary, in the time while Joshua was dividing the land, lest the being so long about it, there might be a confusion.

2. That Christ was the son of Joseph is most exactly true. For though he was the son of God, yet with the Jews, if any man kept a child, and brought him up, and called him son, he was taken for his son ; and his land, if he had any, was to descend upon him ; and therefore the genealogy of Joseph is justly set down.

GENTLEMEN.

1. WHAT a gentleman is, 't is hard with us to define. In other countries he is known by his privileges: in Westminster-hall he is one that is reputed one; in the court of honor, he that hath arms. The king cannot make a gentleman of blood; (what have you said?) nor God Almighty; but he can make a gentleman by creation. If you ask which is the better of these two, civilly, the gentleman of blood, morally, the gentleman by creation may be the better: for the other may be a debauched man, this a person of worth.

2. Gentlemen have ever been more temperate in their religion than the common people, as having more reason, the others running in a hurry. In the beginning of Christianity, the fathers writ "contra gentes," and "contra gentiles"; they were all one: but after all were Christians, the better sort of people still retained the name of gentiles throughout the four provinces of the Roman empire; as "gentil-homme," in French, "gentil-uomo" in Italian, "gentil-hombre" in Spanish, and "gentil-man" in English: and they, no question, being persons of quality, kept up those feasts which we borrow from the gentiles; as Christmas, Candlemas, May-day, &c., continuing what



was not directly against Christianity, which the common people would never have endured.

GOLD.

THERE are two reasons why these words, "*Jesus autem transiens per medium eorum ibat,*" were about our old gold. The one is, because Ripley the alchymist, when he made gold in the tower, the first time he found it, he spoke these words, "*per medium eorum,*" that is, "*per medium ignis et sulphuris.*" The other, because these words were thought to be a charm, and that they did bind whatsoever they were written upon, so that a man could not take it away. To this reason I rather incline.

HALL.

THE hall was the place where the great Lord used to eat, (wherefore else were the halls made so big?) where he saw all his servants and tenants about him. He eat not in private, except in time of sickness: when once he became a thing cooped up, all his greatness was

spoiled. Nay the king himself used to eat in the hall, and his lords sat with him, and then he understood men.

HELL.

1. THERE are two texts for Christ's descending into hell; the one Psalm xvi. the other Acts ii., where the Bible that was in use when the thirty-nine articles were made, has it "hell." But the Bible that was in queen Elizabeth's time, when the articles were confirmed, reads it "grave"; and so it continued till the new translation in king James's time, and then 't is "hell" again. But by this we may gather, the church of England declined, as much as they could, the descent, otherwise they never would have altered the Bible.

2. "He descended into hell." This may be the interpretation of it. He may be dead and buried, then his soul ascended into heaven. Afterwards he descended again into hell, that is, into the grave, to fetch his body, and to rise again. The ground of this interpretation is taken from the Platonic learning, who held a metempsychosis; and when a soul did descend from heaven to take another body, they called

it *κατάβασιν εἰς ᾗδην*, taking *ᾗδης* for the lower world, the state of mortality. Now the first Christians many of them were Platonic philosophers, and no question spake such language as was then understood amongst them. To understand by hell the grave is no tautology ; because the creed first tells what Christ suffered, " he was crucified, dead, and buried " ; then it tells us what he did, " he descended into hell, the third day he rose again, he ascended," &c.

HOLIDAYS.

THEY say the church imposes holidays. There's no such thing, though the number of holidays is set down in some of our common-prayer-books. Yet that has relation to an act of parliament, which forbids the keeping of any holidays in time of popery ; but those that are kept, are kept by the custom of the country ; and I hope you will not say the church imposes that.

HUMILITY.

1. HUMILITY is a virtue all preach, none practise, and yet every body is content to hear.

The master thinks it good doctrine for his servant, the laity for the clergy, and the clergy for the laity.

2. There is "*humilitas quædam in vitio.*" If a man does not take notice of that excellency and perfection that is in himself, how can he be thankful to God, who is the author of all excellency and perfection? Nay, if a man hath too mean an opinion of himself, 't will render him unserviceable both to God and man.

3. Pride may be allowed to this or that degree, else a man cannot keep up his dignity. In gluttony there must be eating, in drunkenness there must be drinking: 't is not the eating, nor 't is not the drinking that is to be blamed, but the excess. So in pride.

IDLATRY.

IDLATRY is in a man's own thought, not in the opinion of another. Put case, I bow to the altar, why am I guilty of idolatry? Because a stander-by thinks so? I am sure I do not believe the altar to be God; and the God I worship may be bowed to in all places, and at all times.

J E W S.

1. God at the first gave laws to all mankind, but afterwards he gave peculiar laws to the Jews, which they were only to observe. Just as we have the common law for all England, and yet you have some corporations that besides that have peculiar laws and privileges to themselves.

2. Talk what you will of the Jews, that they are cursed, they thrive wherever they come; they are able to oblige the prince of their country, by lending him money; none of them beg; they keep together; and for their being hated, my life for yours, Christians hate one another as much.

INVINCIBLE IGNORANCE.

'T is all one to me if I am told of Christ, or some mystery of Christianity, if I am not capable of understanding, as if I am not told at all; my ignorance is as invincible; and therefore 't is vain to call their ignorance only invincible, who were never told of Christ. The trick of it is to advance the priest, whilst the church of Rome says a man must be told of Christ by one thus and thus ordained.

I M A G E S.

1. THE Papists' taking away the second commandment, is not haply so horrid a thing, nor so unreasonable amongst Christians as we make it; for the Jews could make no figure of God but they must commit idolatry, because he had taken no shape; but since the assumption of our flesh, we know what shape to picture God in. Nor do I know why we may not make his image, provided we be sure what it is: as we say St. Luke took the picture of the Virgin Mary, and St. Veronica of our Saviour. Otherwise it would be no honor to the king to make a picture, and call it the king's picture, when 't is nothing like him.

2. Though the learned Papists pray not to images, yet 't is to be feared the ignorant do; as appears by that story of St. Nicholas in Spain. A countryman used to offer daily to St. Nicholas's image: at length by mischance the image was broken, and a new one made of his own plum-tree; after that the man forbore. Being complained of to his ordinary, he answered, 't is true, he used to offer to the old image, but to the new he could not find in his heart, because he knew 't was a piece of his own plum-tree. You see what opinion this man had of the image; and to this tended the

bowing of their images, the twinkling of their eyes, the Virgin's milk, &c. Had they only meant representations, a picture would have done as well as these tricks. It may be with us in England they do not worship images, because living amongst Protestants they are either laughed out of it, or beaten out of it by shock of argument.

3. 'T is a discreet way concerning pictures in churches, to set up no new, nor to pull down no old.

IMPERIAL CONSTITUTIONS.

THEY say imperial constitutions did only confirm the canons of the church; but that is not so, for they inflicted punishment, when the canons never did: viz. if a man converted a Christian to be a Jew, he was to forfeit his estate, and lose his life. In Valentine's Novels 't is said, "*Constat episcopos forum legibus non habere, et judicant tantum de religione.*"

IMPRISONMENT.

SIR Kenelm Digby was several times taken and let go again, at last imprisoned in Win-

chester house. I can compare him to nothing but a great fish that we catch and let go again, but still he will come to the bait ; at last, therefore, we put him into some great pond for store.

INCENDIARIES.

FANCY to yourself a man sets the city on fire at Cripplegate, and that fire continues by means of others, till it comes to Whitefriars, and then he that began it would fain quench it ; does not he deserve to be punished most that first set the city on fire ? So it is with the incendiaries of the state. They that first set it on fire, (by monopolizing, forest business, imprisoning parliament men, "tertio Caroli," &c.) are now become regenerate, and would fain quench the fire : certainly they deserved most to be punished, for being the first cause of our distractions.

INDEPENDENCY.

1. INDEPENDENCY is in use at Amsterdam, where forty churches or congregations have

nothing to do one with another : and it is no question agreeable to the primitive times, before the emperor became Christian : for either we must say every church governed itself, or else we must fall upon that old foolish rock, that St. Peter and his successors governed all. But when the civil state became Christian, they appointed who should govern them ; before they governed by agreement and consent. " If you will not do this, you shall come no more amongst us." But both the Independent man and the Presbyterian man do equally exclude the civil power, though after a different manner.

2. The Independent may as well plead, they should not be subject to temporal things, not come before a constable or a justice of peace, as they plead they should not be subject in spiritual things, because St. Paul says — " Is it so, that there is not a wise man amongst you ? "

3. The pope challenges all churches to be under him ; the king and the two archbishops challenge all the church of England to be under them. The Presbyterian man divides the kingdom into as many churches as there be presbyteries, and your Independent would have every congregation a church by itself.

THINGS INDIFFERENT.

IN time of a parliament, when things are under debate, they are indifferent ; but in a church or state settled, there is nothing left indifferent.

PUBLIC INTEREST.

ALL might go well in the commonwealth, if every one in the parliament would lay down his own interest, and aim at the general good. If a man were sick, and the whole college of physicians should come to him, and administer severally, haply so long as they observed the rules of art he might recover ; but if one of them had a great deal of scammony by him, he must put off that, therefore he prescribes scammony ; another had a great deal of rhubarb, and he must put off that, and therefore he prescribes rhubarb, &c. — they would certainly kill the man. We destroy the commonwealth, while we preserve our own private interests, and neglect the public.

HUMAN INVENTIONS.

1. You say there must be no human invention in the church, nothing but the pure word.

Ans. If I give any exposition, but what is expressed in the text, that is my invention : if you give another exposition, that is your invention, and both are human. For example, suppose the word egg were in the text ; I say, it is meant a hen-egg ; you say, a goose-egg. Neither of these are expressed, therefore they are human inventions ; and I am sure the newer the invention the worse ; old inventions are best.

2. If we must admit nothing but what we read in the Bible, what will become of the parliament ? For we do not read of that there.

JUDGMENTS.

WE cannot tell what is a judgment of God ; * it is presumption to take upon us to know. In time of plague we know we want health, and therefore we pray to God to give us health ;

* This subject is ably treated by Dr. Spencer, " Discourse concerning Prodigies," p. 348, 2d edit. Lond. 1665, 8vo.

in time of war we know we want peace, and therefore we pray to God to give us peace. Commonly we say a judgment falls upon a man for something in him we cannot abide. An example we have in king James, concerning the death of Henry the Fourth of France ; one said he was killed for his wenching, another said he was killed for turning his religion. " No," says king James, (who could not abide fighting) " he was killed for permitting duels in his kingdom."

JUDGE.

1. We see the pageants in Cheapside, the lions, and the elephants, but we do not see the men that carry them ; we see the judges look big, look like lions, but we do not see who moves them.

2. Little things do great works, when the great things will not. If I should take a pin from the ground, a little pair of tongs will do it, when a great pair will not. Go to a judge to do a business for you, by no means he will not hear of it ; but go to some small servant about him, and he will despatch it according to your heart's desire.

3. There could be no mischief in the commonwealth without a judge. Though there be false dice brought in at the groom-porter's, and cheating offered, yet, unless he allow the cheating, and judge the dice to be good, there may be hopes of fair play.

JUGGLING.

It is not juggling that is to be blamed, but much juggling, for the world cannot be governed without it. All your rhetoric, and all your elenchs in logic, come within the compass of juggling.

JURISDICTION.

1. THERE is no such thing as spiritual jurisdiction ; all is civil ; the church's is the same with the lord mayor's. Suppose a Christian came into a Pagan country, how can you fancy he shall have any power there ? He finds faults with the gods of the country ; well, they put him to death for it ; when he is a martyr,

what follows? Does that argue he has any spiritual jurisdiction? If the clergy say the church ought to be governed thus and thus, by the word of God, that is doctrinal, that is not discipline.

2. The pope he challenges jurisdiction over all; the bishops they pretend to it as well as he, the Presbyterians they would have it to themselves; but over whom is all this? The poor laymen.

JUS DIVINUM.

1. ALL things are held by "jus divinum," either immediately or mediately.

2. Nothing has lost the pope so much in his supremacy, as not acknowledging what princes gave him. It is a scorn upon the civil power, and an unthankfulness in the priest. But the church runs to "jus divinum," lest if they should acknowledge what they have by positive law, it might be as well taken from them as given to them.

KING.

1. A KING is a thing men have made for their own sakes, for quietness' sake : just as in a family one man is appointed to buy the meat ; if every man should buy, or if there were many buyers, they would never agree ; one would buy what the other liked not, or what the other had bought before ; so there would be a confusion. But that charge being committed to one, he, according to his discretion, pleases all ; if they have not what they would have one day, they shall have it the next, or something as good.

2. The word king directs our eyes. Suppose it had been consul, or dictator : to think all kings alike is the same folly as if a consul of Aleppo or Smyrna should claim to himself the same power that a consul at Rome ; " What, am not I a consul ? " or a duke of England should think himself like the duke of Florence ; nor can it be imagined, that the word βασιλεύς did signify the same in Greek, as the Hebrew word מֶלֶךְ did with the Jews. Besides, let the divines in their pulpits say what they will,*

* As a specimen of the political doctrines which some of the divines of that age ventured to inculcate in their pulpits, we subjoin an extract from one of the court ser-

they in their practice deny that all is the king's. They sue him, and so does all the nation, whereof they are a part. What matter is it then what they preach or teach in the schools?

3. Kings are all individual, this or that king : there is no species of kings.

4. A king that claims privileges in his own country, because they have them in another, is just as a cook, that claims fees in one lord's house, because they are allowed in another. If the master of the house will yield them, well and good.

5. The text, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," makes as much against kings as for them, for it says plainly that some things are not Cæsar's. But divines make choice of it, first in flattery, and then because of the other part adjoined to it, "Render unto God the things that are God's," where they bring in the church.

6. A king outed of his country, that takes as much upon him as he did at home, in his

mons of Bishop Sanderson. This famous prelate avers that it is not expedient to take up arms against a lawful sovereign; "not for the maintenance of the lives or liberties either of ourselves or others; nor for the defence of religion; nor for the preservation of a church or state; no, nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul; no, not for the redemption of the whole world!"

own court, is as if a man on high, and I being upon the ground, used to lift up my voice to him, that he might hear me, at length should come down, and then expects I should speak as loud to him as I did before.

KING OF ENGLAND.

1. THE king can do no wrong ; that is, no process can be granted against him : what must be done then ? Petition him, and the king writes upon the petition " Soit droit fait," and sends it to the Chancery ; and then the business is heard. His confessor will not tell him he can do no wrong.

2. There is a great deal of difference between head of the church, and supreme governor, as our canons call the king. Conceive it thus : there is in the kingdom of England a college of physicians ; the king is supreme governor of those, but not head of them, nor president of the college, nor the best physician.

3. After the dissolution of abbeys, they did not much advance the king's supremacy, for they only cared to exclude the pope ; hence have we had several translations of the Bible put upon us. But now we must look to it,

otherwise the king may put upon us what religion he pleases.

4. It was the old way when the king of England had his house, there were canons to sing service in his chapel ; so at Westminster, in St. Stephen's chapel, where the House of Commons sits, from which canons the street called Canon-row has its name, because they lived there ; and he had also the abbot and his monks, and all these the king's house.

5. The three estates are the lords temporal, the bishops or the clergy, and the commons, as some would have it ; (take heed of that) for then, if two agree, the third is involved, but he is king of the three estates.

6. The king hath a seal in every court ; and though the great seal be called " sigillum Angliæ," the great seal of England, yet it is not because it the kingdom's seal, and not the king's, but to distinguish it from " sigillum Hiberniæ, sigillum Scotiæ."

7. The court of England is much altered. At a solemn dancing, first you had the grave measures, then the courantoës and the galliards ; and this is kept up with ceremony : at length, to French-more, and the cushion-dance ; and then all the company dances, lord and groom, lady and kitchen-maid, no distinction. So in our court, in queen Elizabeth's

time, gravity and state were kept up : in king James's time, things were pretty well : but in king Charles's time, there has been nothing but French-more and the cushion-dance, "omnium gatherum," tolly polly, hoite-come-toite.

THE KING.

1. 'T is hard to make an accommodation between the king and his parliament. If you and I fell about money — you said I owed you twenty pounds, I said I owed you but ten pounds — it may be, a third party, allowing me twenty marks, might make us friends. But if I said I owed you twenty pounds in silver, and you said I owed you twenty pounds in diamonds, which is a sum innumerable, it is impossible we should ever agree. This is the case.

2. There is not the same reason for the king's accusing men of treason, and carrying them away, as there is for the houses themselves, for they accuse one of themselves : for every one that is accused is either a peer or a commoner, and he that is accused hath his consent going along with him ; but if the king accuses, there is nothing of this in it.

SECRET

1. The purpose of this document is to provide information regarding the activities of the [redacted] in the [redacted] area. This information is being provided for your information and is not to be distributed outside of your office.

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7. The king calling his friends from the parliament, because he had use of them at Oxford, is as if a man should have use of a little piece of wood, and he runs down into the cellar, and takes the spigot ; in the mean time, all the beer runs about the house. When his friends are absent, the king will be lost.

KNIGHTS' SERVICE.

KNIGHTS' service, in earnest, means nothing ; for the lords are bound to wait upon the king when he goes to war with a foreign enemy, with, it may be, one man and one horse ; and he that doth not, is to be rated so much as shall seem good to the next parliament ; and what will that be ? So it is for a private man, that holds of a gentleman.

LAND.

1. WHEN men did let their land underfoot, the tenants would fight for their landlords, so that way they had their retribution ; but now

they will do nothing for them : may be the first, if but a constable bid them, that shall lay the landlord by the heels ; and therefore it is vanity and folly not to take the full value.

2. "Allodium" is a law word contrary to "feudum," and it signifies land that holds of nobody. We have no such land in England. It is a true proposition, all the land in England is held, either immediately or mediately, of the king.

LANGUAGE.

1. To a living tongue new words may be added, but not to a dead tongue, as Latin, Greek, Hebrew, &c.

2. "Latimer" is the corruption of "Latin-er" ; it signifies he that interprets Latin ; and though he interpreted French, Spanish, or Italian, he was called the king's "Latiner," that is, the king's interpreter.

3. If you look upon the language spoken in the Saxon time, and the language spoken now, you will find the difference to be just as if a man had a cloak that he wore plain in queen Elizabeth's days, and since, here has put in a piece of red, and there a piece of blue, and

here a piece of green, and there a piece of orange tawny. We borrow words from the French, Italian, Latin, as every pedantic man pleases.

4. We have more words than notions ; half a dozen words for the same thing : sometimes we put a new signification to an old word, as when we call a piece a gun. The word gun was in use in England for an engine to cast a thing from a man, long before there was any gunpowder found out.

5. Words must be fitted to a man's mouth. It was well said of the fellow that was to make a speech for my lord mayor, he desired to take measure of his lordship's mouth.

L A W.

1. A MAN may plead not guilty, and yet tell no lie ; for by the law no man is bound to accuse himself : so that when I say, "not guilty," the meaning is, as if I should say by way of paraphrase, I am not so guilty as to tell you ; if you will bring me to a trial, and have me punished for this you lay to my charge, prove it against me.

2. Ignorance of the law excuses no man ; not that all men know the law, but because it is an excuse every man will plead, and no man can tell how to confute him.

3. The king of Spain was outlawed in Westminster-hall, I being of counsel against him : a merchant had recovered costs against him in a suit, which because he could not get, we advised him to have him outlawed for not appearing, and so he was : as soon as Gondomar heard that, he presently sent the money, by reason, if his master had been outlawed, he could not have the benefit of the law ; which would have been very prejudicial, there being then many suits depending betwixt the king of Spain and our English merchants.

4. Every law is a contract between the king and the people, and therefore to be kept. A hundred men may owe me a hundred pounds, as well as any one man, and shall they not pay me because they are stronger than I ? *Objection.* O, but they lose all if they keep that law. *Answer.* Let them look to the making of their bargain. If I sell my lands, and when I have done, one comes and tells me, I have nothing else to keep me ; I, and my wife, and children must starve, if I part with my land — must I not therefore let them have my land that have bought it and paid for it ?

5. The parliament may declare law, as well as any other inferior court may, viz. the king's bench. In that or this particular case, the king's bench will declare unto you what the law is, but that binds nobody whom the case concerns : so the highest court, the parliament, may do, but not declare law, that is, make law that was never heard of before.

LAW OF NATURE.

I CANNOT fancy to myself what the law of nature means, but the law of God. How should I know I ought not to steal, I ought not to commit adultery, unless somebody had told me so ? Surely, 't is because I have been told so. 'T is not because I think I ought not to do them, nor because you think I ought not ; if so, our minds might change ; whence then comes the restraint ? From a higher power ; nothing else can bind : I cannot bind myself, for I may untie myself again ; nor an equal cannot bind me, for we may untie one another : it must be a superior power, even God Almighty. If two of us make a bargain, why should either of us stand to it ? What need you care what you say, or what need I care

what I say ? Certainly because there is something about me that tells me "*Fides est servanda* ;" and if we after alter our minds, and make a new bargain, there's "*fides servanda* " there too.

LEARNING.

1. No man is the wiser for his learning : it may adminster matter to work in, or objects to work upon ; but wit and wisdom are born with a man.

2. Most men's learning is nothing but history duly taken up. If I quote Thomas Aquinas for some tenet, and believe it because the schoolmen say so, that is but history. Few men make themselves masters of the things they write or speak.

3. The Jesuits and the lawyers of France, and the Low-country-men, have engrossed all learning. The rest of the world make nothing but homilies.

4. 'T is observable, that in Athens where the arts flourished, they were governed by a democracy : learning made them think themselves as wise as any body, and they would govern as well as others ; and they spake as it

were by way of contempt, that in the east and in the north they had kings, and why? Because the most part of them followed their business; and if some one man had made himself wiser than the rest, he governed them, and they willingly submitted themselves to him. Aristotle makes the observation. And as in Athens the philosophers made the people knowing, and therefore they thought themselves wise enough to govern; so does preaching with us, and that makes us affect a democracy; for upon these two grounds we all would be governors, either because we think ourselves as wise as the best, or because we think ourselves the elect, and have the spirit, and the rest a company of reprobates that belong to the devil.

LECTURERS.

1. LECTURERS do in a parish-church what the friars did heretofore, get away not only the affections, but the bounty, that should be bestowed upon the minister.

2. Lecturers get a great deal of money, because they preach the people tame, as a man watches a hawk; and then they do what they list with them.

3. The lectures in Black-friars, performed by officers of the army, tradesmen, and ministers, is as if a great lord should make a feast, and he would have his cook dress one dish, and his coachman another, his porter a third, &c.

LIBELS.

THOUGH some make slight of libels, yet you may see by them how the wind sits : as take a straw and throw it up into the air, you shall see by that which way the wind is, which you shall not do by casting up a stone. More solid things do not show the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels.

LITURGY.

1. THERE is no church without a liturgy, nor indeed can there be conveniently, as there is no school without a grammar. One scholar may be taught otherwise upon the stock of his acumen, but not a whole school. One or two that are piously disposed, may serve themselves their own way, but hardly a whole nation.

2. To know what was generally believed in all ages, the way is to consult the liturgies, not any private man's writing. As if you would know how the church of England serves God, go to the common-prayer-book, consult not this nor that man. Besides, liturgies never compliment, nor use high expressions. The Fathers oftentimes speak oratoriously.

LORDS IN THE PARLIAMENT.

1. THE lords' giving protections is a scorn upon them. A protection means nothing actively, but passively ; he that is a servant to a parliament man is thereby protected. What a scorn is it to a person of honor to put his hand to two lies at once, that such a man is my servant, and employed by me, when haply he never saw the man in his life, nor before never heard of him.

2. The lords' protesting is foolish. To protest is properly to save to a man's self some right ; but to protest as the lords protest, when they their selves are involved, 't is no more than if I should go into Smithfield, and sell my horse, and take the money, and yet when I

have your money, and you my horse, I should protest this horse is mine, because I love the horse, or I do not know why I do protest, because my opinion is contrary to the rest. Ridiculous! When they say the bishops did anciently protest, it was only dissenting, and that in the case of the pope.

LORDS BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT.

1. GREAT lords, by reason of their flatterers, are the first that know their own virtues, and the last that know their own vices. Some of them are ashamed upwards, because their ancestors were too great. Others are ashamed downwards, because they were too little.

2. The prior of St. John of Jerusalem is said to be "*primus baro Angliæ*," the first baron of England, because being last of the spiritual barons, he chose to be first of the temporal. He was a kind of an otter, a knight half spiritual, and half temporal.

3. *Question.* Whether is every baron a baron of some place? *Answer.* 'T is according to his patent: of late years they have been made baron of some place, but anciently not, called

only by their surname, or the surname of some family, into which they have been married.

4. The making of new lords lessens all the rest. 'T is in the business of lords as 't was with St. Nicholas's image : the countryman, you know, could not find in his heart to adore the new image, made of his own plum-tree, though he had formerly worshipped the old one. The lords that are ancient we honor, because we know not whence they come ; but the new ones we slight, because we know their beginning.

5. For the Irish lords to take upon them here in England, is as if the cook in the fair should come to my Lady Kent's kitchen, and take upon him to roast the meat there, because he is a cook in another place.

MARRIAGE.

1. Of all actions of a man's life, his marriage does least concern other people ; yet of all actions of our life it is most meddled with by other people.

2. Marriage is nothing but a civil contract : it is true it is an ordinance of God : so is every other contract : God commands me to keep it when I have made it.

3. Marriage is a desperate thing. The frogs in Æsop were extreme wise ; they had a great mind to some water, but they would not leap into the well, because they could not get out again.

4. We single out particulars, and apply God's providence to them : thus when two are married, they cry it was God's providence we should come together, when God's providence does equally concur to every thing.

MARRIAGE OF COUSIN-GERMANS.*

SOME men forbear to marry cousin-germans out of this kind of scruple of conscience, because it was unlawful before the Reformation, and is still in the church of Rome. And so by reason their grandfather or their great grandfather did not do it, upon that old score they think they ought not to do it : as some men forbear flesh upon Friday, not reflecting upon the statute which with us makes it unlawful, but out of an old score, because the church of

* The marriage of cousin-germans is discussed by a very learned and judicious writer, contemporary with Selden. See the Works of John Hales, Vol. i. p. 145.

Rome forbids it, and their forefathers always forebore flesh on that day. Others forbear it out of a natural consideration, because it is observed, for example, in beasts, if two couple of a near kind, the breed proves not so good. The same observation they make in plants and trees, which degenerate, being grafted upon the same stock. And 't is also further observed, those matches between cousin-germans seldom prove fortunate. But for the lawfulness there is no color but cousin-germans in England may marry both by the law of God and man; for with us we have reduced all the degrees of marriage to those in the Levitical law, and 't is plain there's nothing against it. As for that that is said, cousin-germans once removed may not marry, and therefore being a further degree may not, 't is presumed a nearer should not, no man can tell what it means.*

* In this sentence the author's meaning appears to be somewhat disguised; but he evidently alludes to a vulgar notion, still prevalent in England, that first-cousins may marry, but second-cousins may not; in reference to which Selden may easily be supposed to have said, "no man can tell what it means." Its true origin seems, however, to have been traced by Dr. Taylor, *Elements of the Civil Law*, p. 331. In computing the degrees of consanguinity, the civil and the canon law follow very different methods. The rule of the civil law is, that there are as many degrees as persons, exclusive

MEASURE OF THINGS.

1. WE measure from ourselves ; and as things are for our use and purpose, so we approve them. Bring a pear to the table that is rotten, we cry it down, 't is naught ; but bring a medlar that is rotten, and 't is a fine thing ; and yet I 'll warrant you the pear thinks as well of itself as the medlar does.

2. We measure the excellency of other men by some excellency we conceive to be in ourselves. Nash, a poet poor enough, as poets used to be, seeing an alderman with his gold chain, upon his great horse, by way of scorn, said to one of his companions, " Do you see you fellow, how goodly, how big he looks ! Why that fellow cannot make a blank verse."

3. Nay, we measure the goodness of God from ourselves ; we measure his goodness, his justice, his wisdom, by something we call just, good, or wise in ourselves ; and in so doing,

of the common stock ; that of the canon law, that degrees of consanguinity are to be reckoned by the number of descents in one line ; and where the lines are unequal, the canonist takes the longer of the two. The canon law prohibits marriages in the third degree, the civil law permits them in the fourth ; or, in other words, the one law prohibits the marriages of second-cousins, and the other permits the marriages of first-cousins.

we judge proportionably to the country fellow in the play, who said if he were a king, he would live like a lord, and have pease and bacon every day, and a whip that cried slash.

DIFFERENCE OF MEN.

THE difference of men is very great : you would scarce think them to be of the same species, and yet it consists more in the affection than in the intellect. For as in the strength of body, two men shall be of an equal strength, yet one shall appear stronger than the other, because he exercises and puts out his strength, the other will not stir nor strain himself; so 't is in the strength of the brain; the one endeavours, and strains, and labors, and studies, the other sits still, and is idle, and takes no pains, and therefore he appears so much the inferior.

MINISTER, DIVINE.

1. THE imposition of hands upon the minister, when all is done, will be nothing but a designation of a person to this or that office or

employment in the church. 'T is a ridiculous phrase that of the canonists, "*conferre ordines.*" 'T is "*coöptare aliquem in ordinem*;" to make a man one of us, one of our number, one of our order. So Cicero would understand what I said, it being a phrase borrowed from the Latins, and to be understood proportionably to what was amongst them.

2. Those words you now use in making a minister, "Receive the Holy Ghost," were used amongst the Jews in making of a lawyer; from thence we have them, which is a villanous key to something, as if you would have some other kind of prefecture than a mayoralty, and yet keep the same ceremony that was used in making the mayor.

3. A priest has no such thing as an indelible character : what difference do you find betwixt him and another man after ordination ? Only he is made a priest, as I said, by designation, as a lawyer is called to the bar, then made a sergeant. All men that would get power over others, make themselves as unlike them as they can ; upon the same ground the priests made themselves unlike the laity.

4. A minister, when he is made, is "*materia prima,*" apt for any form the state will put upon him, but of himself he can do nothing. Like a doctor of law in the university, he hath

a great deal of law in him, but cannot use it till he be made somebody's chancellor ; or like a physician before he be received into a house, he can give nobody physic ; indeed after the master of the house hath given him charge of his servants, then he may ; or like a suffragan, that could do nothing but give orders, and yet he was no bishop.

5. A minister should preach according to the articles of religion established in the church where he is. To be a civil lawyer let a man read Justinian, and the body of the law, to confirm his brain to that way ; but when he comes to practise, he must make use of it so far as it concerns the law received in his own country. To be a physician let a man read Galen and Hippocrates ; but when he practises he must apply his medicines according to the temper of those men's bodies with whom he lives, and have respect to the heat and cold of climes, otherwise that which in Pergamus, where Galen lived, was physic, in our cold climate may be poison. So to be a divine let him read the whole body of divinity, the fathers and the schoolmen ; but when he comes to practise he must use it and apply it according to those grounds and articles of religion that are established in the church, and this with sense.

6. There be four things a minister should be at; the concionary part, ecclesiastical story, school divinity, and the casuists.

(1.) In the concionary part he must read all the chief Fathers, both Latin and Greek, wholly; St. Austin, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, both the Gregories, &c., Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Epiphanius; which last have more learning in them than all the rest, and writ freely.

(2.) For ecclesiastical story let him read Baronius, with the Magdeburgenses, and be his own judge, the one being extremely for the Papists, the other extremely against them.

(3.) For school divinity let him get Javellus's edition of Scotus or Mayro,* where there be quotations that direct you to every schoolman, where such and such questions are handled. Without school divinity a divine knows nothing logically, nor will be able to satisfy a rational man out of the pulpit.

* "Franciscus Mayro," says Cardinal Bellarmin, "*natione Scotus, professione religiosus ordinis S. Francisci, Scoti discipulus, vixit tempore Joannis vigesimi secundi papæ, anno domini 1320.*" He is likewise called F. de Mayronis and Maronius. According to Wadding, he was known in the schools by the appellation of Doctor Illuminatus. Sixtus Senensis describes him as being "*in scholasticâ eruditione præstantissimus, et in divinis scripturis suo tempore clarissimus.*" — Tom. i. p. 431. edit. Venet. 1575, 2 tom. 4to.

(4.) The study of the casuists must follow the study of the schoolmen, because the division of their cases is according to their divinity; otherwise he that begins with them will know little; as he that begins with the study of the reports and cases in the common law, will thereby know little of the law. Casuists may be of admirable use, if discreetly dealt with, though among them you shall have many leaves together very impertinent. A case well decided would stick by a man; they would remember it whether they will or no, whereas a quaint position dieth in the birth. The main thing is to know where to search; for talk what they will of vast memories, no man will presume upon his own memory for any thing he means to write or speak in public.

7. "Go and teach all nations." This was said to all Christians that then were, before the distinction of clergy and laity: there have been since men designed to preach only by the state, as some men are designed to study the law, others to study physic. When the Lord's supper was instituted, there were none present but the disciples: shall none then but ministers receive?

8. There is all the reason you should believe your minister, unless you have studied divinity as well as he, or more than he.

9. 'T is a foolish thing to say ministers must not meddle with secular matters, because his own profession will take up the whole man : may he not eat, or drink, or walk, or learn to sing ? The meaning of that is, he must seriously attend to his calling.

10. Ministers with the Papists, that is, their priests, have much respect : with the Puritans they have much, and that upon the same ground ; they pretend both of 'em to come immediately from Christ : but with the Protestants they have very little ; the reason whereof is, in the beginning of the Reformation they were glad to get such to take livings as they could procure by any invitations, things of pitiful condition. The nobility and gentry would not suffer their sons or kindred to meddle with the church ; and therefore at this day, when they see a parson, they think him to be such a thing still, and there they will keep him, and use him accordingly ; if he be a gentleman, that is singled out, and he is used the more respectfully.

11. That the Protestant minister is least regarded, appears by the old story of the keeper of the clink. He had priests of several sorts sent unto him : as they came in, he asked them who they were. " Who are you ? " to the first. " I am a priest of the church of Rome." " You

are welcome," quoth the keeper; "there are those who will take care of you. And who are you?" "A silenced minister." "You are welcome too; I shall fare the better for you. And who are you?" "A minister of the church of England." "O God help me," quoth the keeper, "I shall get nothing by you; I am sure you may lie, and starve, and rot, before any body will look after you."

12. Methinks 't is an ignorant thing for a churchman to call himself the minister of Christ, because St. Paul or the apostles called themselves so. If one of them had a voice from heaven, as St. Paul had, I will grant he is a minister of Christ; I will call him so too. Must they take upon them as the apostles did? Can they do as the apostles could? The apostles had a mark to be known by, spake tongues, cured diseases, trod upon serpents, &c. Can they do this? If a gentleman tells me he will send his man to me, and I did not know his man, but he gave me this mark to know him by, he should bring in his hand a rich jewel; if a fellow came to me with a pebble-stone, had I any reason to believe he was the gentleman's man?

MONEY.

1. MONEY makes a man laugh. A blind fiddler, playing to a company, and playing but scurvily, the company laughed at him : his boy that led him, perceiving it, cried, " Father, let us be gone, they do nothing but laugh at you." " Hold thy peace, boy," said the fiddler ; " we shall have their money presently, and then we will laugh at them."

2. Euclid was beaten in Boccaline, for teaching his scholars a mathematical figure in his school, whereby he showed that all the lives both of princes and private men tended to one centre, " con gentilezza," handsomely to get money out of other men's pockets, and put it into their own.

3. The pope used heretofore to send the princes of Christendom to fight against the Turk ; but prince and pope finely juggled together ; the moneys were raised, and some men went out to the holy war ; but commonly after they had got the money, the Turk was pretty quiet, and the prince and the pope shared it between them.

4. In all times the princes in England have done something illegal to get money : but then came a parliament, and all was well ; the people and the prince kissed and were friends,

and so things were quiet for a while. Afterwards there was another trick found out to get money, and after they had got it, another parliament was called to set all right, &c. But now they have so outrun the constable . . .

MORAL HONESTY.

THEY that cry down moral honesty, cry down that which is a great part of religion, my duty towards God, and my duty towards man. What care I to see a man run after a sermon, if he cozens and cheats as soon as he comes home? On the other side, morality must not be without religion; for if so, it may change as I see convenience. Religion must govern it. He that has not religion to govern his morality, is not a dram better than my mastiff-dog; so long as you stroke him, and please him, and do not pinch him, he will play with you as finely as may be, he is a very good moral mastiff; but if you hurt him, he will fly in your face, and tear out your throat.

MORTGAGE.

IN case I receive a thousand pounds, and mortgage as much land as is worth two thou-

sand to you, if I do not pay the money at such a day, I fail. Whether you may take my land and keep it in point of conscience? *Answer.* If you had my land as security only for your money, then you are not to keep it; but if we bargained so that if I did not repay your £1000, my land should go for it, be it what it will, no doubt you may with a safe conscience keep it; for in these things all the obligation is "servare fidem."

NUMBER.

ALL those mysterious things they observe in numbers, come to nothing upon this very ground, because number in itself is nothing, has nothing to do with nature, but is merely of human imposition, a mere sound. For example, when I cry one o'clock, two o'clock, three o'clock, that is but man's division of time; the time itself goes on, and it had been all one in nature, if those hours had been called nine, ten, and eleven. So when they say the seventh son is fortunate, it means nothing; for if you count from the seventh backwards, then the first is the seventh; why is not he likewise fortunate?

OATHS.

1. **SWEARING** was another thing with the Jews than with us, because they might not pronounce the name of the Lord Jehovah.

2. There is no oath scarcely but we swear to things we are ignorant of: for example, the oath of supremacy; how many know how the king is king; what are his right and prerogative? So how many know what are the privileges of the parliament, and the liberty of the subject, when they take the protestation? But the meaning is, they will defend them when they know them. As if I should swear I would take part with all that wear red ribbons in their hats, it may be I do not know which color is red; but when I do know, and see a red ribbon in a man's hat, then will I take his part.

3. I cannot conceive how an oath is imposed where there is a parity, viz. in the house of commons; they are all "pares inter se," only one brings a paper, and shows it the rest, they look upon it, and in their own sense take it. Now they are but "pares" to me, who am none of the house, for I do not acknowledge myself their subject; if I did, then no question I was bound by an oath of their imposing. 'Tis to me but reading a paper in their own sense.

4. There is a great difference between an assertory oath and a promissory oath.* An assertory oath is made to a man before God, and I must swear so as a man may know what I mean: but a promissory oath is made to God only, and I am sure he knows my meaning. So in the new oath it runs, "whereas I believe in my conscience, &c. I will assist thus and thus:" that "whereas" gives me an outloose; for if I do not believe so, for aught I know I swear not at all.

5. In a promissory oath, the mind I am in is a good interpretation; for if there be enough happened to change my mind, I do not know why I should not. If I promise to go to Oxford to-morrow, and mean it when I say it, and afterwards it appears to me that 't will be my undoing, will you say I have broke my promise if I stay at home? Certainly I must not go.

6. The Jews had this way with them, concerning a promissory oath or vow: if one of them had vowed a vow, which afterwards appeared to him to be very prejudicial by reason of something he either did not foresee or did not think of when he made his vow; if he made it known to three of his countrymen,

* See Bishop Sanderson, *De Juramenti Promissorii Obligatione*, p. 9, edit. Lond. 1696, 8vo.

they had power to absolve him, though he could not absolve himself: and that they picked out of some words in the text. Perjury hath only to do with an assertory oath; and no man was punished for perjury by man's law till queen Elizabeth's time; 't was left to God, as a sin against him: the reason was, because 't was so hard a thing to prove a man perjured. I might misunderstand him, and he swears as he thought.

7. When men ask me whether they may take an oath in their own sense, 't is to me as if they should ask whether they may go to such a place upon their own legs; I would fain know how they can go otherwise.

8. If the ministers that are in sequestered livings will not take the engagement, threaten to turn them out and put in the old ones, and then I'll warrant you they will quietly take it.

9. Now oaths are so frequent, they should be taken like pills, swallowed whole; if you chew them, you will find them bitter: if you think what you swear, 't will hardly go down,

ORACLES.

ORACLES ceased presently after Christ, as soon as nobody believed them ; * just as we have no fortune-tellers, nor wise men, when nobody cares for them. Sometimes you have a season for them, when people believe them, and neither of these, I conceive, wrought by the devil.

OPINION.

1. OPINION and affection extremely differ. I may affect a woman best, but it does not follow I must think her the handsomest woman in the world. I love apples best of any fruit, but it does not follow I must think apples to be

* About this period the credit of oracles certainly began to decline ; but Van Dale has clearly shown that they did not, as has very generally been supposed, cease at the birth of Jesus Christ. (*De Oraculis Veterum Ethnicorum*, p. 476. edit. 2dæ. Amst. 1700, 4to.) See likewise Fontenelle, *Hist. des Oracles*, p. 220, edit. Paris, 1698, 8vo. Selden has undoubtedly assigned the true cause of their abolition. On the subject of the Sibylline oracles, a long and learned note occurs in Lord Hailes's edition of Lactantius, *De Justitiâ*, p. 162. Edinb. 1777. 8vo.

the best fruit. Opinion is something wherein I go about to give reason why all the world should think as I think. Affection is a thing wherein I look after the pleasing of myself.

2. 'T was a good fancy of an old Platonic : the gods, which are above men, had something whereof man did partake, (an intellect, knowledge,) and the gods kept on their course quietly. The beasts, which are below man, had something whereof man did partake, (sense and growth,) and the beasts lived quietly in their way. But man had something in him, whereof neither gods nor beasts did partake, which gave him all the trouble, and made all the confusion in the world ; and that is opinion.

3. 'T is a foolish thing for me to be brought off from an opinion, in a thing neither of us know, but are led only by some cobweb-stuff ; as in such a case as this, "*Utrum angeli invicem colloquantur ?*" If I forsake my side in such a case, I show myself wonderful light, or infinitely complying, or flattering the other party : but if I be in a business of nature, and hold an opinion one way, and some man's experience has found out the contrary, I may, with a safe reputation, give up my side.

4. 'T is a vain thing to talk of a heretic, for a man for his heart can think no otherwise than he does think. In the primitive times

there were many opinions, nothing scarce but some or other held : one of these opinions being embraced by some prince, and received into his kingdom, the rest were condemned as heresies ; and his religion, which was but one of the several opinions, first is said to be orthodox, and so have continued ever since the apostles.

P A R I T Y.

THIS is the juggling trick of the parity, they would have nobody above them, but they do not tell you they would have nobody under them.

P A R L I A M E N T.

1. ALL are involved in a parliament. There was a time when all men had their voice in choosing knights. About Henry the Sixth's time they found the inconvenience ; so one parliament made a law, that only he that had forty shillings per annum should give his voice, they under should be excluded. They made the law who had the voice of all, as well under forty shillings as above ; and thus it continues

at this day. All consent civilly in a parliament ; women are involved in the men, children in those of perfect age ; those that are under forty shillings a year, in those that have forty shillings a year, those of forty shillings in the knights.

2. All things are brought to the parliament, little to the courts of justice : just as in a room where there is a banquet presented, if there be persons of quality there, the people must expect and stay till the great ones have done.

3. The parliament flying upon several men, and then letting them alone, does as a hawk that flies a covey of partridges, and when she has flown them a great way, grows weary and takes a tree ; then the falconer lures her down, and takes her to his fist : on they go again, " heirett," up springs another covey, away goes the hawk, and as she did before, takes another tree, &c.

4. Dissenters in parliament may at length come to a good end, though first there be a great deal of do, and a great deal of noise, which mad wild folks make : just as in brewing of wrest-beer, there's a great deal of business in grinding the malt, and that spoils any man's clothes that comes near it : then it must be mashed, then comes a fellow in and drinks of the wort, and he's drunk ; then they keep

a huge quarter when they carry it into the cellar ; and a twelvemonth after 't is delicate fine beer.

5. It must necessarily be that our distempers are worse than they were at the beginning of the parliament. If a physician comes to a sick man, he lets him blood, it may be scarifies him, cups him, puts him into a great disorder, before he makes him well ; and if he be sent for to cure an ague, and he finds his patient hath many diseases, a dropsy, and a palsy, he applies remedies to 'em all, which makes the cure the longer and the dearer : this is the case.

6. The parliament-men are as great princes as any in the world, when whatsoever they please is privilege of parliament ; no man must know the number of their privileges, and whatsoever they dislike is breach of privilege. The duke of Venice is no more than speaker of the house of commons ; but the senate at Venice are not so much as our parliament-men, nor have they that power over the people, who yet exercise the greatest tyranny that is any where. In plain truth, breach of privilege is only the actual taking away of a member of the house, the rest are offences against the house : for example, to take out process against a parliament-man, or the like.

7. The parliament party, if the law be for them, they call for 'the law; if it be against them, they will go to a parliamentary way; if no law be for them, then for law again: like him that first called for sack to heat him, then small drink to cool his sack, then sack again to heat his small drink, &c.

8. The parliament party do not play fair play, in sitting up till two of the clock in the morning, to vote something they have a mind to. 'T is like a crafty gamester, that makes the company drunk, then cheats them of their money. Young men and infirm men go away. Besides, a man is not there to persuade other men to be of his mind, but to speak his own heart, and if it be liked, so, if not, there's an end.

PARSON.

1. THOUGH we write "parson" differently, yet 't is but "person"; that is, the individual person set apart for the service of such a church; and 't is in Latin "persona," and "personatus" is a parsonage. Indeed with the canon lawyers, "personatus" is any dignity or preferment in the church.

2. There never was a merry world since the fairies left dancing, and the parson left conjuring. The opinion of the latter kept thieves in awe, and did as much good in a country as a justice of peace.

PATIENCE.

PATIENCE is the chiefest fruit of study. A man that strives to make himself a different thing from other men by much reading, gains this chiefest good, that in all fortunes he hath something to entertain and comfort himself withal.

PEACE.

1. KING James was pictured going easily down a pair of stairs, and upon every step there was written, "peace, peace, peace." The wisest way for men in these times is to say nothing.

2. When a country-wench cannot get her butter to come, she says, the witch is in her churn. We have been churning for peace a great while, and 't will not come; sure the witch is in it.

3. Though we had peace, yet 't will be a great while ere things be settled. Though the wind lie, yet after a storm the sea will work a great while.

PENANCE.

PENANCE is only the punishment inflicted, not penitence, which is the right word : a man comes not to do penance because he repents him of his sin, but because he is compelled to it ; he curses him, and could kill him that sends him thither. The old canons wisely enjoined three years' penance, sometimes more, because in that time a man got a habit of virtue, and so committed that sin no more for which he did penance.

PEOPLE.

1. THERE is not any thing in the world more abused than this sentence, " *Salus populi suprema lex esto* " : for we apply it as if we ought to forsake the known law when it may be most for the advantage of the people, when it means no such thing. For first, 't is not " *Salus po-*

populi suprema lex est," but "esto"; it being one of the laws of the twelve tables,* and after divers laws made, some for punishment, some for rewards, then follows this, "Salus populi suprema lex esto": that is, in all the laws you make, have a special eye to the good of the people; and then what does this concern the way they now go?

2. *Objection.* He that makes one, is greater than he that is made: the people made the king, ergo, &c. *Answer.* This does not hold; for if I have £1000 per annum, and give it you, and leave myself ne'er a penny, I made you; but when you have my land, you are greater than I. The parish makes the constable, and when the constable is made, he

* Selden's memory seems here to have deceived him: this is not one of the laws of the twelve tables, but one of those which Cicero has proposed for the government of his imaginary republic. "Regio imperio duo sunt: iique praeundo, judicando, consulendo, praetores, judices, consules appellantur. Militiae summum jus habento: nemini parento. Ollis salus populi suprema lex esto." (De Legibus, lib. iii.)—"Nam quas," says Gravina, "e Ciceronis libris de legibus in xii. tab. retulerunt, non veras arbitramur, sed a Cicerone confictas, exemplo legum Platoniarum: quamvis multas legum decemvirialium sententias, propter aequitatem quam continebant ex intimâ philosophiâ ductam, Cicero suis legibus comprehenderit." (Origines Juris Civilis, p. 172. edit. Maseovii.)

governs the parish. The answer to all these doubts is, have you agreed so? If you have, then it must remain till you have altered it.

PHILOSOPHY.

WHEN men comfort themselves with philosophy, 't is not because they have got two or three sentences, but because they have digested those sentences, and made them their own : so upon the matter, philosophy is nothing but discretion.

PLEASURE.

1. PLEASURE is nothing else but the intermission of pain, the enjoying of something I am in great trouble for till I have it.

2. 'T is a wrong way to proportion other men's pleasures to ourselves; 't is like a child's using a little bird, "O poor bird, thou shalt sleep with me"; so lays it in his bosom, and stifles it with his hot breath : the bird had rather be in the cold air. And yet too 't is the most pleasing flattery, to like what other men like.

3. 'T is most undoubtedly true, that all men are equally given to their pleasure ; only thus, one man's pleasure lies one way, and another's another. Pleasures are all alike, simply considered in themselves : he that hunts, or he that governs the commonwealth, they both please themselves alike, only we commend that whereby we ourselves receive some benefit ; as if a man place his delight in things that tend to the common good. He that takes pleasure to hear sermons, enjoys himself as much as he that hears plays ; and could he that loves plays endeavour to love sermons, possibly he might bring himself to it as well as to any other pleasure. At first it may seem harsh and tedious, but afterwards 't would be pleasing and delightful. So it falls out in that which is the great pleasure of some men, tobacco ; at first they could not abide it, and now they cannot be without it.

4. Whilst you are upon earth, enjoy the good things that are here, (to that end they were given,) and be not melancholy, and wish yourself in heaven. If a king should give you the keeping of a castle, with all things belonging to it, orchards, gardens, &c. and bid you use them ; withal promise you that, after twenty years, to remove you to the court, and to make you a privy counsellor ; if you should neglect

your castle, and refuse to eat of those fruits, and sit down, and whine, and wish you were a privy counsellor, do you think the king would be pleased with you ?

5. Pleasures of meat, drink, clothes, &c. are forbidden those that know not how to use them ; just as nurses cry "pah"! when they see a knife in a child's hand : they will never say any thing to a man.

POETRY.

1. OVID was not only a fine poet, but, as a man may speak, a great canon lawyer, as appears in his "Fasti," where we have more of the festivals of the old Romans than anywhere else : 't is pity the rest are lost.

2. There is no reason plays should be in verse, either in blank or rhyme ; only the poet has to say for himself, that he makes something like that which somebody made before him. The old poets had no other reason but this, their verse was sung to music ; otherwise it had been a senseless thing to have fettered up themselves.

3. I never converted but two : the one was Mr. Crashaw from writing against plays, by

telling him a way how to understand that place of putting on women's apparel, which has nothing to do in the business ; as neither has it, that the Fathers speak against plays in their time, with reason enough, for they had real idolatries mixed with their plays, having three altars perpetually upon the stage. The other was a doctor of divinity, from preaching against painting ; which simply in itself is no more hurtful than putting on my clothes, or doing any thing to make myself like other folks, that I may not be odious or offensive to the company. Indeed if I do it with an ill intention, it alters the case ; so, if I put on my gloves with an intention to do a mischief, I am a villain.

4. 'T is a fine thing for children to learn to make verse ; but when they come to be men, they must speak like other men, or else they will be laughed at. 'T is ridiculous to speak, or write, or preach in verse. As 't is good to learn to dance : a man may learn his leg, learn to go handsomely ; but 't is ridiculous for him to dance when he should go.

5. 'T is ridiculous for a lord to print verses : 't is well enough to make them to please himself, but to make them public, is foolish. If a man in a private chamber twirls his band-strings, or plays with a rush to please himself,

't is well enough ; but if he should go into Fleet-street, and sit upon a stall, and twirl a band-string, or play with a rush, then all the boys in the street would laugh at him.

6. Verse proves nothing but the quantity of syllables ; they are not meant for logic.

POPE.

1. A POPE'S bull and a pope's brief differ very much ; as with us the great seal and the privy seal. The bull being the highest authority the pope can give, the brief is of less. The bull has a leaden seal upon silk, hanging upon the instrument ; the brief has "sub annulo piscatoris" upon the side.

2. He was a wise pope, that when one that used to be merry with him before he was advanced to the popedom, refrained afterwards to come at him, (presuming he was busy in governing the Christian world,) the pope sends for him, bids him come again, "and," says he, "we will be merry as we were before ; for thou little thinkest what a little foolery governs the whole world." *

* "Go, my son," said the chancellor, Orenstern, "and see with how little wisdom the world is governed."

3. The pope, in sending relics to princes, does as wenches do by their wassails at new-year's tide ; they present you with a cup, and you must drink of a slabby stuff ; but the meaning is, you must give them money, ten times more than it is worth.

4. The pope is infallible where he hath power to command, that is, where he must be obeyed ; so is every supreme power and prince. They that stretch his infallibility further, do they know not what.

5. When a Protestant and a Papist dispute, they talk like two madmen, because they do not agree upon their principles. The one way is to destroy the pope's power, for if he hath power to command me, 't is not my alleging reasons to the contrary can keep me from obeying : for example, if a constable command me to wear a green suit to-morrow, and has power to make me, 't is not my alleging a hundred reasons of the folly of it, can excuse me from doing it.

6. There was a time when the pope had power here in England, and there was excellent use made of it ; for 't was only to serve turns, as might be manifested out of the records of the kingdom, which divines know little of. If the king did not like what the pope would have, he would forbid the pope's legate to land

upon his ground. So that the power was truly then in the king, though suffered in the pope. But now the temporal and the spiritual power (spiritual so called, because ordained to a spiritual end) spring both from one fountain, they are like to twist that.

7. The Protestants in France bear office in the state, because though their religion be different, yet they acknowledge no other king but the king of France. The Papists in England, they must have a king of their own, a pope, that must do something in our kingdom; therefore there is no reason they should enjoy the same privileges.

8. Amsterdam admits of all religions but Papists, and 't is upon the same account. The Papists, where'er they live, have another king at Rome: all other religions are subject to the present state, and have no prince elsewhere.

9. The Papists call our religion a parliamentary religion; but there was once, I am sure, a parliamentary pope; Pope Urban was made pope in England, by act of parliament, against Pope Clement. The act is not in the book of statutes, either because he that compiled the book would not have the name of the pope there, or else he would not let it appear that they meddled with any such thing; but 't is upon the rolls.

10. When our clergy preach against the pope and the church of Rome, they preach against themselves ; and crying down their pride, their power, and their riches, have made themselves poor and contemptible enough : they dedicate first to please their prince, not considering what would follow. Just as if a man were to go a journey, and seeing at his first setting out the way clean and fair, ventures forth in his slippers, not considering the dirt and the sloughs are a little further off, or how suddenly the weather may change.

POPERY.

1. THE demanding a noble for a dead body passing through a town, came from hence in time of popery ; they carried the dead body into the church, where the priest said dirges ; and twenty dirges at four pence a piece comes to a noble ; but now it is forbidden by an order from my lord marshal ; the heralds carry his warrant about them.

2. We charge the prelatical clergy with popery to make them odious, though we know they are guilty of no such thing ; just as heretofore they called images mammets, and the

adoration of images mammetry, that is Mahomet and Mahometry ; odious names, when all the world knows the Turks are forbidden images by their religion.

POWER. STATE.

1. There is no stretching of power : it is a good rule, "Eat within your stomach ; act within your commission."

2. They that govern most make least noise. You see when they row in a barge, they that do drudgery work, slash, and puff, and sweat ; but he that governs, sits quietly at the stern, and scarce is seen to stir.

3. Syllables govern the world.

4. "All power is of God," means no more than "Fides est servanda." When St. Paul said this, the people had made Nero emperor. They agree, he to command, they to obey ; then God comes in, and casts a hook upon them, "Keep your faith" : then comes in, "All power is of God." Never king dropped out of the clouds. God did not make a new emperor, as the king makes a justice of peace.

5. Christ himself was a great observer of the civil power, and did many things only jus-

tifiable because the state required it, which were things merely temporary, for the time that state stood. But divines make use of them to gain power to themselves; as for example that of "*Dic ecclesiæ*," tell the church; there was then a sanhedrim, a court to tell it to, and therefore they would have it so now.

6. Divines ought to do no more than what the state permits. Before the state became Christian, they made their own laws, and those that did not observe them, they excommunicated, naughty men, they suffered them to come no more amongst them. But if they would come amongst them, how could they hinder them? By what law, by what power? They were still subject to the state, which was heathen. Nothing better expresses the condition of Christians in those times, than one of the meetings you have in London, of men of the same county, of Sussex-men, or Bedfordshire-men; they appoint their meeting, and they agree, and make laws amongst themselves, he that is not there shall pay double, &c., and if any one misbehave himself, they shut him out of their company: but can they recover a forfeiture made concerning their meeting by any law? Have they any power to compel one to pay? But afterwards, when the state became Christian, all the power was in them,

and they gave the church as much, or as little as they pleased, and took away when they pleased, and added what they pleased.

7. The church is not only subject to the civil power with us that are Protestants, but also in Spain : if the church does excommunicate a man for what it should not, the civil power will take him out of their hands. So in France the Bishop of Angiers altered something in the breviary ; they complained to the parliament at Paris, that made him alter it again, with a "*comme d'abus*." *

8. The parliament of England has no arbitrary power in point of judicature, but in point of making law only.

9. If the prince be "*servus naturâ*," of a servile base spirit, and the subjects "*liberi*," free and ingenuous, oftentimes they depose their prince, and govern themselves. On the contrary, if the people be "*servi naturâ*," and some one amongst them of a free and ingenuous spirit, he makes himself king of the rest ; and this is the cause of all changes in state, commonwealths into monarchies, and monarchies into commonwealths.

* An "*appel comme d'abus*" is an appeal to the civil from the ecclesiastical court, on the ground of the latter having exceeded its jurisdiction.

10. In a troubled state we must do as in foul weather upon the Thames, not think to cut directly through, so the boat may be quickly full of water, but rise and fall as the waves do, give as much as conveniently we can.

P R A Y E R.

1. If I were a minister, I should think myself most in my office, reading of prayers, and dispensing the sacraments; and 't is ill done to put one to officiate in the church, whose person is contemptible out of it. Should a great lady, that was invited to be a gossip, in her place send her kitchen-maid, 't would be ill taken, yet she is a woman as well as she; let her send her woman at least.

2. "You shall pray," is the right way, because according as the church is settled, no man may make a prayer in public of his own head.

3. "'T is not the original common prayer-book." Why, show me an original bible, or an original "magna charta."

4. Admit the preacher prays by the spirit, yet that very prayer is common-prayer to the people; they are tied as much to his words,

as in saying, "Almighty and most merciful Father." Is it then unlawful in the minister, but not unlawful in the people?

5. There were some mathematicians that could with one fetch of their pen make an exact circle, and with the next touch point out the centre; is it therefore reasonable to banish all use of the compasses? Set forms are a pair of compasses.

6. "God hath given gifts unto men." General texts prove nothing: let him show me John, William, or Thomas, in the text, and then I will believe him. If a man hath a voluble tongue, we say, he hath the gift of prayer. His gift is to pray long; that I see; but does he pray better?

7. We take care what we speak to men, but to God we may say any thing.

8. The people must not think a thought towards God, but as their pastors will put it into their mouths: they will make right sheep of us.

9. The English priests would do that in English which the Romish do in Latin, keep the people in ignorance; but some of the people outdo them at their own game.

10. Prayer should be short, without giving God Almighty reasons why he should grant this or that; he knows best what is good for us.

If your boy should ask you a suit of clothes, and give you reasons, otherwise he cannot wait upon you, he cannot go abroad but he will discredit you, would you endure it? You know it better than he; let him ask a suit of clothes.

11. If a servant that has been fed with good beef, goes into that part of England where salmon is plenty, at first he is pleased with his salmon, and despises his beef; but after he has been there awhile, he grows weary of his salmon, and wishes for his good beef again. We have awhile been much taken with this praying by the spirit; but in time we may grow weary of it, and wish for our common-prayer.

12. 'T is hoped we may be cured of our extemporary prayers, the same way the grocer's boy is cured of his eating plums, when we have had our bellyful of them.

PREACHING.

1. NOTHING is more mistaken than that speech, "Preach the Gospel"; for it is not to make long harangues, as they do nowadays, but to tell the news of Christ's coming into

the world : and when that is done, or where it is known already, the preacher's work is done.

2. Preaching, in the first sense of the word, ceased as soon, as ever the gospel was written.

3. When the preacher says, "This is the meaning of the Holy Ghost in such a place," in sense he can mean no more than this : that is, "I, by studying of the place, by comparing one place with another, by weighing what goes before, and what comes after, think this is the meaning of the Holy Ghost ; and, for shortness of expression, I say, the Holy Ghost says thus, or this is the meaning of the Spirit of God." So the judge speaks of the king's proclamation : "This is the intention of the king" ; not that the king had declared his intention any other way to the judge ; but the judge, examining the contents of the proclamation, gathers, by the purport of the words, the king's intention ; and then, for shortness of expression, says, "This is the king's intention."

4. Nothing is text but what was spoken in the Bible, and meant there for person and place ; the rest is application, which a discreet man may do well ; but 't is his Scripture, not the Holy Ghost.

5. Preaching by the Spirit, as they call it, is most esteemed by the common people, be-

cause they cannot abide art or learning, which they have not been bred up in : just as in the business of fencing ; if one country fellow amongst the rest, has been at the school, the rest will undervalue his skill, or tell him he wants valor : “ You come with your school tricks ; there is Dick Butcher has ten times more mettle in him.” So they say to the preachers, “ You come with your school learning ; there ’s such a one has the Spirit.”

6. The tone in preaching does much in working upon the people’s affections : if a man should make love in an ordinary tone, his mistress would not regard him ; and, therefore, he must whine : if a man should cry “ fire,” or “ murder,” in an ordinary voice, nobody would come out to help him.

7. Preachers will bring any thing into the text. The young masters of arts preached against non-residency in the university ; whereupon the heads made an order, that no man should meddle with any thing but what was in the text. The next day one preached upon these words, “ Abraham begat Isaac ” ; when he had gone a good way, at last he observed, that Abraham was resident, for if he had been non-resident, he could never have begat Isaac ; and so fell foul upon the non-residents.

8. I could never tell what often preaching meant, after a church is settled, and we know what is to be done. It is just as if a husbandman should once tell his servants what they are to do, when to sow, when to reap; and afterwards one should come, and tell them twice or thrice a day what they know already: "You must sow your wheat in October, you must reap your wheat in August," &c.

9. The main argument why they would have two sermons a day is, because they have two meals a day; the soul must be fed as well as the body. But I may as well argue, I ought to have two noses because I have two eyes, or two mouths because I have two ears. What have meals and sermons to do one with another?

10. The things between God and man are but a few, and those, forsooth, we must be told often of: but things between man and man are many; those I hear of not above twice a year at the assizes, or once a quarter at the sessions. But few come then; nor does the minister exhort the people to go at these times to learn their duty towards their neighbours. Often preaching is sure to keep the minister in countenance, that he may have something to do.

11. In preaching they say more to raise men to love virtue than men can possibly perform, to make them do their best: as if you would

teach a man to throw the bar ; to make him put out his strength, you bid throw farther than it is possible for him, or any man else : " Throw over yonder house."

12. In preaching they do by men as writers of romances do by their chief knights, bring them into many dangers, but still fetch them off : so they put men in fear of hell ; but at last they bring them to heaven.

13. Preachers say, " Do as I say, not as I do " ; but if a physician had the same disease upon him that I have, and he should bid me do one thing, and he do quite another, could I believe him ?

14. Preaching the same sermon to all sorts of people, is, as if a schoolmaster should read the same lesson to his several forms : if he reads " amo, amas, amavi," the highest forms laugh at him ; the younger boys admire him : so 't is in preaching to a mixed auditory. *Objection.* But it cannot be otherwise ; the parish cannot be divided into several forms. What must the preacher then do in discretion ? *Answer.* Why then let him use some expressions by which this or that condition of people may know such doctrine does more especially concern them, it being so delivered that the wisest may be content to hear ; for if he delivers it altogether, and leaves it to them to single out

what belongs to themselves, which is the usual way, 't is as if a man would bestow gifts upon children of several ages ; two years old, four years old, ten years old, &c. ; and there he brings tops, pins, points, ribbons, and casts them all in a heap together upon a table before them ; though the boy of ten years old knows how to chöose his top, yet the child of two years old, that should have a ribbon, takes a pin, and the pin, ere he be aware, pricks his fingers, and then all 's out of order, &c.

Preaching, for the most part, is the glory of the preacher, to show himself a fine man : catechizing would do much better.

15. Use the best arguments to persuade, though but few understand ; for the ignorant will sooner believe the judicious of the parish, than the preacher himself : and they teach when they dissipate what he has said, and believe it the sooner, confirmed by men of their own side : for betwixt the laity and the clergy, there is, as it were, a continual driving of a bargain : something the clergy would still have us to be at, and therefore many things are heard from the preacher with suspicion : they are afraid of some ends, which are easily assented to, when they have it from some of themselves. 'T is with a sermon as 't is with a play ; many come to see it, which do not un-

derstand it ; and yet hearing it cried up by one, whose judgment they cast themselves upon, and of power with them, they swear, and will die in it, that 't is a very good play, which they would not have done if the priest himself had told them so. As in a great school 't is not the master that teaches all ; the monitor does a great deal of work ; it may be the boys are afraid to see the master ; so in a parish 't is not the minister does all ; the greater neighbour teaches the lesser, the master of the house teaches his servant, &c.

16. First in your sermons use your logic and then your rhetoric. Rhetoric without logic is like a tree with leaves and blossoms, but no root. Yet I confess more are taken with rhetoric than logic, because they are caught with a free expression, when they understand not reason. Logic must be natural, or it is worth nothing at all. Your rhetoric figures may be learned. That rhetoric is best which is most seasonable and most catching : an instance we have in that old blunt commander at Cadiz, who showed himself a good orator : being to say something to his soldiers, which he was not used to do, he made them a speech to this purpose : "What a shame will it be, you Englishmen, that feed upon good beef and brewess, to let those rascally Spaniards beat you, that eat

nothing but oranges and lemons"; and so put more courage into his men than he could have done with a more learned oration. Rhetoric is very good, or stark naught: there's no medium in rhetoric; if I am not fully persuaded, I laugh at the orator.

17. 'Tis good to preach the same thing again, for that's the way to have it learned. You see a bird by often whistling to learn a tune, and a month after record it to herself.

18. 'Tis a hard case a minister should be turned out of his living for something they inform he should say in his pulpit: we can no more know what a minister said in his sermon by two or three words picked out of it, than we can tell what tune a musician played last upon the lute, by two or three single notes.

PREDESTINATION.

1. THEY that talk nothing but predestination, and will not proceed in the way of heaven till they be satisfied in that point, do as a man that would not come to London, unless at his first step he might set his foot upon the top of St. Paul's.

2. For a young divine to begin in his pulpit with predestination, is as if a man were coming into London, and at his first step would think to set his foot, &c.

3. Predestination is a point inaccessible, out of our reach ; we can make no notion of it, 't is so full of intricacy, so full of contradiction ; 't is in good earnest, as we state it, half-a-dozen bulls one upon another.

4. Doctor Prideaux, in his lectures, several days used arguments to prove predestination : at last tells his auditory they are damned that do not believe it ; doing herein just like school-boys ; when one of them has got an apple, or something the rest have a mind to, they use all the arguments they can to get some of it from him : " I gave you some t'other day ; you shall have some with me another time." When they cannot prevail they tell him he is a jackan-apes, a rogue, and a rascal.

P R E F E R M E N T.

1. WHEN you would have a child go to such a place, and you find him unwilling, you tell him he shall ride a cock-horse, and then he will go presently ; so do those that govern

the state deal by men, to work them to their ends ; they tell them they shall be advanced to such or such a place, and they will do any thing they would have them.

2. A great place strangely qualifies. John Read, groom of the chamber to my lord of Kent, was in the right. Attorney Noy being dead, some were saying, "How will the king do for a fit man?" "Why, any man," says John Read, "may execute the place." "I warrant," says my lord, "thou thinkest thou understandest enough to perform it." "Yes," quoth John ; "let the king make me attorney, and I would fain see that man, that durst tell me, there is any thing I understand not."

3. When the pageants are a coming there's a great thrusting, and a riding upon one another's backs, to look out at the window ; stay a little and they will come just to you, you may see them quietly. So 't is when a new statesman or officer is chosen ; there's great expectation and listening who it should be ; stay awhile, and you may know quietly.

4. Missing preferment makes the presbyters fall foul upon the bishops. Men that are in hopes and in the way of rising, keep in the channel ; but they that have none, seek new ways. 'T is so amongst the lawyers ; he that hath the judge's ear, will be very observant of

the way of the court ; but he that hath no regard, will be flying out.

5. My lord Digby having spoken something in the house of commons, for which they would have questioned him, was presently called to the upper house : he did by the parliament, as an ape when he hath done some waggery ; his master spies him, and he looks for his whip ; but before he can come at him, " Whip," says he, " to the the top of the house. "

6. Some of the parliament were discontented, that they wanted places at court, which others had got ; but when they had them once, then they were quiet : just as at a christening some that get no sugar-plums, when the rest have, mutter and grumble : presently the wench comes again with her basket of sugar-plums, and then they catch and scramble ; and when they have got them, you hear no more of them.

PRÆMUNIRE.

THERE can be no præmunire : a præmunire, so called from the word " præmunire* facias,"

* In the writ to which Selden alludes, the word " præmunire " is confounded with " præmonere. " See Barrington's *Observations on the Statutes*, p. 251.

was when a man laid an action in an ecclesiastical court, for which he could have no remedy in any of the king's courts, that is, in the courts of common law ; by reason, the ecclesiastical courts, before Henry the Eighth, were subordinate to the pope ; and so it was "*contra coronam et dignitatem regis* " ; but now the ecclesiastical courts are equally subordinate to the king. Therefore, it cannot be "*contra coronam et dignitatem regis*," and so no *præmunire*.

PREROGATIVE.

1. PREROGATIVE is something that can be told what it is — not something that has no name : just as you see the archbishop has his prerogative court, but we know what is done in that court : so the king's prerogative is not his will, or, what divines make it, a power to do what he lists.

2. The king's prerogative, that is, the king's law. For example, if you ask whether a patron may present to a living after six months by law, I answer, No. If you ask whether the king may, I answer he may by his prerogative, that is, by the law that concerns him in that case.

PRESBYTERY.

1. THEY that would bring in a new government, would very fain persuade us they meet it in antiquity. Thus they interpret presbyters, when they meet the word in the Fathers. Other professions likewise pretend to antiquity. The alchymist will find his art in Virgil's "aureus ramus," and he that delights in optics will find them in Tacitus. When Cæsar came into England, they would persuade us they had perspective glasses, by which he could discover what they were doing upon the land, because it is said, "positis speculis": the meaning is, his watch or his sentinel discovered this and this unto him.

2. Presbyters have the greatest power of any clergy in the world, and gull the laity most: for example, admit there be twelve laymen to six presbyters, the six shall govern the rest as they please. First, because they are constant, and the others come in like church-wardens in their turns, which is a huge advantage. Men will give way to them who have been in place before them. Next, the laymen have other professions to follow: the presbyters make it their sole business; and besides too, they learn and study the art of persuading: some of Geneva have confessed as much.

3. The presbyter, with his elders about him, is like a young tree fenced about with two, or three, or four stakes; the stakes defend it, and hold it up, but the tree only prospers and flourishes: it may be some willow stake may bear a leaf or two, but it comes to nothing. Lay-elders are stakes, the presbyter the tree that flourishes.

4. When the queries were sent to the Assembly concerning the "jus divinum" of presbytery, their asking time to answer them, was a satire upon themselves: for if it were to be seen in the text, they might quickly turn to the place, and show us it. Their delaying to answer makes us think there's no such thing there. They do just as you have seen a fellow do at a tavern reckoning: when he should come to pay his reckoning, he puts his hands into his pockets, and keeps a grabbling, and a fumbling, and shaking, at last tells you he has left his money at home, when all the company knew at first he had no money there; for every man can quickly find his own money.

PRIESTS OF ROME.

1. THE reason of the statute against priests was this : in the beginning of queen Elizabeth there was a statute made, that he that drew men from their civil obedience was a traitor. It happened this was done in privacies and confessions, when there could be no proof; therefore they made another act, that for a priest to be in England was treason, because they presumed that was his business, to fetch men off from their obedience.

2. When queen Elizabeth died, and king James came in, an Irish priest does thus express it : " Elizabethâ in orcum detrusâ, successit Jacobus, alter hæreticus." You will ask why they did use such language in their church. *Answer.* Why does the nurse tell the child of raw head and bloody bones ? To keep it in awe.

3. The queen mother and Count Rosset are to the priests and Jesuits like the honey-pot to the flies.

4. The priests of Rome aim but at two things, to get power from the king, and money from the subject.

5. When the priests come into a family, they do as a man that would set fire on a house ; he does not put fire to the brick wall,

but thrusts it into the thatch. They work upon the women, and let the men alone.

PROPHECIES.

DREAMS and prophecies do thus much good ; they make a man go on with boldness and courage, upon a danger or a mistress : if he obtains, he attributes much to them ; if he miscarries, he thinks no more of them, or is no more thought of himself.

PROVERBS.

THE proverbs of several nations were much studied by Bishop Andrews, and the reason he gave was, because by them he knew the minds of several nations, which is a brave thing ; as we count him a wise man that knows the minds and insides of men, which is done by knowing what is habitual to them. Proverbs are habitual to a nation, being transmitted from father to son.

QUESTION.

WHEN a doubt is propounded, you must learn to distinguish, and show wherein a thing holds, and wherein it doth not hold : ay, or no, never answered any question. The not distinguishing where things should be distinguished, and the not confounding where things should be confounded, is the cause of all the mistakes in the world.

REASON.

1. IN giving reasons, men commonly do with us as the woman does with her child ; when she goes to market about her business, she tells it she goes to buy it a fine thing, to buy it a cake or some plums. They give us such reasons as they think we will be caught withal, but never let us know the truth.

2. When the schoolmen talk of “*recta ratio*” in morals, either they understand reason as it is governed by a command from above, or else they say no more than a woman when she says a thing is so, because it is so ; that is, her reason persuades her 't is so. The other acceptance has sense in it. As take a law of

the land, I must not depopulate, my reason tells me so. Why? Because if I do, I incur the detriment.

3. The reason of a thing is not to be inquired after till you are sure the thing itself be so. We commonly are at "What's the reason of it?" before we are sure of the thing. 'T was an excellent question of my Lady Cotton, when Sir Robert Cotton was magnifying of a shoe, which was Moses's or Noah's, and wondering at the strange shape and fashion of it: "But, Mr. Cotton," says she, "are you sure it is a shoe?"

RETALIATION.

"AN eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." That does not mean, that if I put out another man's eye, therefore I must lose one of my own, (for what is he the better for that?) though this be commonly received; but it means, I shall give him what satisfaction an eye shall be judged to be worth.

R E V E R E N C E.

'T is sometimes unreasonable to look after respect and reverence, either from a man's own servant, or other inferiors. A great lord and a gentleman talking together, there came a boy by, leading a calf with both his hands. Says the lord to the gentleman, " You shall see me make the boy let go his calf." With that he came towards him, thinking the boy would have put off his hat, but the boy took no notice of him. The lord seeing that, " Sirrah," says he, " do you not know me, that you use no reverence ? " " Yes," says the boy, " if your lordship will hold my calf, I will put off my hat."

N O N - R E S I D E N C Y.

1. THE people thought they had a great victory over the clergy, when in Henry the Eighth's time they got their bill passed, that a clergyman should have but two livings: before a man might have twenty or thirty; 't was but getting a dispensation from the pope's limiter, or gatherer of the Peter-pence, which was as easily got as now you may have a license to eat flesh.

2. As soon as a minister is made, he hath power to preach all over the world, but the civil power restrains him ; he cannot preach in this parish, or in that ; there is one already appointed. Now if the state allows him two livings, then he hath two places where he may exercise his function, and so has the more power to do his office, which he might do every where if he were not restrained.

RELIGION.

1. KING James said to the fly, " Have I three kingdoms, and thou must needs fly into my eye ? " Is there not enough to meddle with upon the stage, or in love, or at the table, but religion ?

2. Religion amongst men appears to me like the learning they got at school. Some men forget all they learned, others spend upon the stock, and some improve it. So some men forget all the religion that was taught them when they were young, others spend upon that stock, and some improve it.

3. Religion is like the fashion ; one man wears his doublet slashed, another laced, another plain, but every man has a doublet. So

every man has his religion ; we differ about trimming.

4. Men say they are of the same religion for quietness' sake ; but if the matter were well examined, you would scarce find three any where of the same religion in all points.

5. Every religion is a getting religion ; for though I myself get nothing, I am subordinate to those that do. So you may find a lawyer in the Temple that gets little for the present ; but he is fitting himself to be in time one of those great ones that do get.

6. Alteration of religion is dangerous, because we know not where it will stay : 't is like a millstone that lies upon the top of a pair of stairs ; 't is hard to remove it, but if once it be thrust off the first stair, it never stays till it comes to the bottom.

7. *Question.* Whether is the church or the Scripture judge of religion ? *Answer.* In truth neither, but the state. I am troubled with a boil ; I call a company of chirurgeons about me ; one prescribes one thing, another another ; I single out something I like, and ask you that stand by, and are no chirurgeon, what you think of it. You like it too ; you and I are judges of the plaster, and we bid them prepare it, and there 's an end. Thus 't is in religion : the Protestants say they will be judged by the

Scripture ; the Papists say so too ; but that cannot speak. A judge is no judge, except he can both speak and command execution : but the truth is, they never intend to agree. No doubt the pope, where he is supreme, is to be judge : if he say we in England ought to be subject to him, then he must draw his sword and make it good.

8. By the law was the manual received into the church before the Reformation ; not by the civil law, that had nothing to do in it ; nor by the canon law, for that manual that was here, was not in France, nor in Spain ; but by custom, which is the common law of England ; and custom is but the elder brother to a parliament : and so it will fall out to be nothing that the Papists say, ours is a parliamentary religion, by reason the service-book was established by act of parliament, and never any service-book was so before. That will be nothing, that the pope sent the manual ; 't was ours because the state received it. The state still makes the religion, and receives into it what will best agree with it. Why are the Venetians Roman Catholics ? Because the state likes the religion : all the world knows they care not three-pence for the pope. The council of Trent is not at this day admitted in France.

9. *Papist.* Where was your religion before Luther, a hundred years ago? . *Protestant.* Where was America a hundred or sixscore years ago? Our religion was where the rest of the Christian church was. *Papist.* Our religion continued ever since the apostles, and therefore 't is better. *Protestant.* So did ours. That there was an interruption of it, will fall out to be nothing, no more than if another earl should tell me of the earl of Kent, saying he is a better earl than he, because there was one or two of the family of Kent did not take the title upon them; yet all that while they were really earls, and afterwards a great prince declared them to be earls of Kent, as he that made the other family an earl.

10. Disputes in religion will never be ended, because there wants a measure by which the business would be decided. The Puritan would be judged by the word of God: if he would speak clearly, he means himself, but he is ashamed to say so; and he would have me believe him before a whole church, that has read the word of God as well as he. One says one thing, and another another; and there is, I say, no measure to end the controversy. 'T is just as if two men were at bowls, and both judged by the eye; one says 't is his cast, the other says 't is my cast; and having no

measure, the difference is eternal. Ben Jonson satirically expressed the vain disputes of divines, by Inigo Lanthorn disputing with his puppet in a Bartholomew fair: "It is so"; "It is not so"; "It is so"; "It is not so"; crying thus one to another a quarter of an hour together.*

11. In matters of religion to be ruled by one that writes against his adversary, and throws all the dirt he can in his face, is as if in point of good manners a man should be governed by one whom he sees at cuffs with another, and thereupon thinks himself bound to give the next man he meets a box on the ear.

12. 'T is to no purpose to labor to reconcile religions when the interest of princes will not suffer it. 'T is well if they could be reconciled so far that they should not cut one another's throats.

13. There's all the reason in the world divines should not be suffered to go a hair be-

* See Jonson's Works, vol. iii. p. 407, Whalley's edition; vol. iv. pp. 404, 531, Gifford's. "Mr. Selden," says the former editor, "quoted by memory, but this is the passage he meant; and he calls him Inigo Lanthorn, because Inigo Jones, as was remarked above [p. 308], was sneered at in the character of Leatherhead." The name of this character in Bartholomew Fair is Lanthorn Leatherhead.

yond their bounds, for fear of breeding confusion, since there now be so many religions on foot. The matter was not so narrowly to be looked after when there was but one religion in Christendom : the rest would cry him down for a heretic, and there was nobody to side with him.

14. We look after religion as the butcher did after his knife, when he had it in his mouth.

15. Religion is made a juggler's paper ; now 't is a horse, now 't is a lanthorn, now 't is a boar, now 't is a man. To serve ends, religion is turned into all shapes.

16. Pretending religion and the law of God, is to set all things loose. When a man has no mind to do something he ought to do by his contract with man, then he gets a text, and interprets it as he pleases, and so thinks to get loose.

17. Some men's pretending religion, is like the roaring boys' way of challenges ; " Their reputation is dear, it does not stand with the honor of a gentleman " ; when, God knows, they have neither honor nor reputation about them.

18. They talk much of settling religion : religion is well enough settled already, if we would let it alone. Methinks we might look after, &c.

19. If men would say they took arms for any thing but religion, they might be beaten out of it by reason : out of that they never can, for they will not believe you whatever you say.

20. The very " arcanum " of pretending religion in all wars, is, that something may be found out in which all men may have interest. In this the groom has as much interest as the lord. Were it for land, one has one thousand acres, and the other but one : he would not venture so far as he that has a thousand. But religion is equal to both. Had all men land alike, by a " lex agraria," then all men would say they fought for land.

S A B B A T H.

WHY should I think all the fourth commandment belongs to me, when all the fifth does not ? What land will the Lord give me for honoring my father ? It was spoken to the Jews with reference to the land of Canaan ; but the meaning is, if I honor my parents, God will also bless me. We read the commandments in the church service, as we do David's Psalms, not that all there concerns us, but a great deal of them does.

SACRAMENT.

1. Christ suffered Judas to take the communion. Those ministers that keep their parishioners from it, because they will not do as they will have them, revenge, rather than reform.

2. No man can tell whether I am fit to receive the sacrament ; for though I were fit the day before, when he examined me, at least appeared so to him ; yet how can he tell what sin I have committed that night, or the next morning, or what impious, atheistical thoughts I may have about me when I am approaching to the very table ? *

* This article, like the last, is apparently directed against the Puritans, who were generally inclined to take a very mystical view of the sacrament. In reference to this subject, we beg leave to produce the opinion of a very worthy member of the English church, the late Dr. Newton of Oxford. "The unconcernedness with which many persons kneel to pray is not less unreasonable than the astonishment with which they go to receive the sacrament : forasmuch as both offices, when the nature of both is truly understood, require equal fitness, and expose the unfit to equal danger. So that he who is fit to say his prayers, is fit to receive the sacrament. And he who shall incur the displeasure of God for unworthily receiving, shall do so in the same degree, if the unworthiness be equal, for unworthily praying." (Newton's Sermons, p. 60. Oxford. 1784. 8vo.)

SALVATION.

WE can best understand the meaning of *σωτηρία*, salvation, from the Jews, to whom the Saviour was promised. They held that themselves should have the chief place of happiness in the other world; but the gentiles that were good men, should likewise have their portion of bliss there too. Now by Christ the partition-wall is broken down, and the gentiles that believe in him, are admitted to the same place of bliss with the Jews: and why then should not that portion of happiness still remain to them who do not believe in Christ, so they be morally good? This is a charitable opinion.

STATE.

IN a troubled state save as much for your own as you can. A dog had been at market to buy a shoulder of mutton; coming home he met two dogs by the way, that quarrelled with him; he laid down his shoulder of mutton, and fell to fighting with one of them; in the mean time the other dog fell to eating his mutton; he seeing that, left the dog he was fighting with, and fell upon him that was eating; then

the other dog fell to eat : when he perceived there was no remedy, but which of them soever he fought withal, his mutton was in danger, he thought he would have as much of it as he could, and thereupon gave over fighting, and fell to eating himself.

SUPERSTITION.

1. THEY that are against superstition oftentimes run into it of the wrong side. If I will wear all colors but black, then am I superstitious in not wearing black.

2. They pretend not to abide the cross, because 't is superstitious; for my part I will believe them, when I see them throw their money out of their pockets, and not till then.

3. If there be any superstition truly and properly so called, 't is their observing the Sabbath after the Jewish manner.

SUBSIDIES.

1. HERETOFORE the parliament was wary what subsidies they gave to the king, because they had no account; but now they care not

how much they give of the subjects' money, because they give it with one hand, and receive it with the other ; and so upon the matter give it themselves. In the mean time what a case the subjects of England are in ! If the men they have sent to the parliament misbehave themselves, they cannot help it, because the parliament is eternal.

2. A subsidy was counted the fifth part of a man's estate ; and so fifty subsidies is five and forty times more than a man is worth.

SIMONY.

THE name of simony was begot in the canon law : the first statute against it was in queen Elizabeth's time. Since the Reformation simony has been frequent : one reason why it was not practised in time of popery, was the pope's provision ; no man was sure to bestow his own benefice.

SHIP-MONEY.

1. MR. Noy brought in ship-money first for maritime towns ; but that was like putting

in a little auger, that afterwards you may put in a greater. He that pulls down the first brick, does the main work ; afterwards it is easy to pull down the wall.

2. They that at first would not pay ship-money till it was decided, did like brave men, though perhaps they did no good by the trial ; but they that stand out since, and suffer themselves to be distrained, never questioning those that do it, do pitifully, for so they only pay twice as much as they should.

SYNOD. ASSEMBLY.

1. WE have had no national synod since the kingdom hath been settled as now it is, only provincial : and there will be this inconvenience, to call so many divines together ; 't will be to put power in their hands, who are too apt to usurp it, as if the laity were bound by their determination. No, let the laity consult with divines on all sides, hear what they say, and make themselves masters of their reasons ; as they do by any other profession, when they have a difference before them. For example, goldsmiths ; they inquire of them, if such a jewel be of such a value, and such a stone of such a

value, hear them, and then, being rational men, judge themselves.

2. Why should you have a synod, when you have a convocation already, which is a synod? Would you have a superfetation of another synod? The clergy of England, when they cast off the pope submitted themselves to the civil power and so have continued; but these challenge to be "jure divino," and so to be above the civil power: these challenge power to call before their presbyteries all persons for all sins directly against the law of God, as proved to be sins by necessary consequence. If you would buy gloves, send for a glover or two, not Glovers' hall; consult with some divines, not send for a body.

3. There must be some laymen in the synod, to overlook the clergy, lest they spoil the civil work; just as when the good woman puts a cat into the milk-house to kill a mouse, she sends her maid to look after the cat lest the cat should eat up the cream.

4. In the ordinance for the assembly, the lords and commons go under the names of learned, godly, and judicious divines; there is no difference put betwixt them and the ministers in the context.

5. 'Tis not unusual in the assembly to revoke their votes, by reason they make so much

haste; but 't is that will make them scorned. You never heard of a council that revoked an act of its own making; they have been wary in that, to keep up their infallibility; if they did any thing, they took away the whole council. And yet we would be thought infallible as any body. It is not enough to say, the house of commons revoke their votes, for theirs are but civil truths which they by agreement create and uncreate, as they please. But the truths the synod deals in are divine; and when they have voted a thing, if it be then true, it was true before; not true because they voted it, nor does it cease to be true because they voted otherwise.

6. Subscribing in a synod, or to the articles of a synod, is no such terrible thing as they make it; because, if I am of a synod, it is agreed, either tacitly or expressly, that which the major part determines, the rest are involved in; and therefore I subscribe, though my own private opinion be otherwise; and upon the same ground, I may, without scruple, subscribe to what those have determined, whom I sent, though my private opinion be otherwise; having respect to that which is the ground of all assemblies, the major part carries it.

THANKSGIVING.

AT first we gave thanks for every victory as soon as ever it was obtained, but since we have had many, now we can stay a good while. We are just like a child ; give him a plum, he makes his leg ; give him a second plum, he makes another leg : at last, when his belly is full, he forgets what he ought to do ; then his nurse, or somebody else that stands by him, puts him in mind of his duty, " Where is your leg ? "

TITHES.

1. TITHES are more paid in kind in England than in all Italy and France. In France, they have had impropriations a long time ; we had none in England till Henry the Eighth.

2. To make an impropriation, there was to be the consent of the incumbent, the patron, and the king ; then it was confirmed by the pope. Without all this the pope could make no impropriation.

3. Or what if the pope gave the tithes to any man, must they therefore be taken away ? If the pope gives me a jewel, will you therefore take it away from me ?

4. Abraham paid tithes to Melchisedec ; what then ? It was very well done of him. It does not follow therefore that I must pay tithes, no more than I am bound to imitate any other action of Abraham's.

5. It is ridiculous to say the tithes are God's part, and therefore the clergy must have them : why, so they are if the layman has them. It is as if one of my lady Kent's maids should be sweeping this room, and another of them should come and take away the broom, and tell for a reason why she should part with it, "It is my lady's broom" : as if it were not my lady's broom, which of them soever had it.

6. They consulted in Oxford where they might find the best argument for their tithes, setting aside the "*jus divinum*" : they were advised to my History of Tithes — a book so much cried down by them formerly ; in which I dare boldly say, there are more arguments for them than are extant together any where : upon this one writ me word, that my History of Tithes was now become like "*Pelias hasta*," to wound and to heal. I told him, in my answer, I thought I could fit him with a better instance ; it was possible it might undergo the same fate that Aristotle, Avicen, and Averroes did in France, some five hundred years ago ; which were excommunicated by Stephen, bishop of

Paris, (by that very name, excommunicated,) because that kind of learning puzzled and troubled their divinity ; but finding themselves at a loss some forty years after, (which is much about the time since I writ my history,) they were called in again, and so have continued ever since.

TRADE.

1. THERE is no prince in Christendom but is directly a tradesman, though in another way than an ordinary tradesman. For the purpose, I have a man ; I bid him lay out twenty shillings in such commodities, but I tell him for every shilling he lays out I will have a penny. I trade as well as he. This every prince does in his customs.

2. That which a man is bred up in, he thinks no cheating ; as your tradesman thinks not so of his profession, but calls it a mystery. Whereas if you would teach a mercer to make his silks heavier than what he has been used to, he would peradventure think that to be cheating.

3. Every tradesman professes to cheat me, that asks for his commodity twice as much as it is worth.

TRADITION.

SAY what you will against tradition, we know the signification of words by nothing but tradition. You will say the Scripture was written by the Holy Spirit ; but do you understand that language 't was writ in ? No. Then for example, take these words, "In principio erat verbum." How do you know these words signify, "In the beginning was the word," but by tradition, because somebody has told you so ?

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

1. THE Fathers using to speak rhetorically brought up transubstantiation : as if because it is commonly said, "*Amicus est alter idem*," one should go about to prove a man and his friends are all one. That opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic.

2. There is no greater argument (though not used) against transubstantiation, than the apostles, at their first council, forbidding blood and suffocation. Would they forbid blood, and yet enjoin the eating of blood too ?

3. The best way for a pious man is, to address himself to the sacrament with that rever-

ence and devotion, as if Christ were really there present.

TRAITOR.

'T is not seasonable to call a man a traitor that has an army at his heels. One with an army is a gallant man. My lady Cotton was in the right, when she laughed at the duchess of Richmond for taking such state upon her, when she could command no forces. "She a duchess! there's in Flanders a duchess indeed"; meaning the archduchess.

TRINITY.

THE second person is made of a piece of bread by the Papists, the third person is made of his own phrensy, malice, ignorance, and folly, by the Roundhead. To all these the spirit is intituled. One the baker makes, the other the cobbler; and betwixt these two, I think the first person is sufficiently abused.

TRUTH.

1. THE Aristotelians say, all truth is contained in Aristotle in one place or another. Galileo makes Simplicius say so, but shows the absurdity of that speech, by answering, "All truth is contained in a lesser compass"; viz. in the alphabet. Aristotle is not blamed for mistaking sometimes; but Aristotelians for maintaining those mistakes. They should acknowledge the good they have from him, and leave him when he is in the wrong. There never breathed that person to whom mankind was more beholden.

2. The way to find out the truth is by others' mistakings: for if I was to go to such a place, and one had gone before me on the right-hand, and he was out; another had gone on the left hand, and he was out; this would direct me to keep the middle way, that peradventure would bring me to the place I desired to go.

3. In troubled water you can scarce see your face, or see it very little, till the water be quiet and stand still. So in troubled times you can see little truth: when times are quiet and settled, then truth appears.

T R I A L.

1. TRIALS are by one of these three ways : by confession, or by demurrer ; that is, confessing the fact, but denying it to be that wherewith a man is charged ; for example, denying it to be treason, if a man be charged with treason : or by a jury.

2. "Ordealium" was a trial, and was either by going over nine red-hot ploughshares, as in the case of queen Emma, over which she being led blindfold, and having passed all her irons, asked when she should come to her trial ; or 't was by taking a red-hot coulter in a man's hand, and carrying it so many steps, and then casting it from him. As soon as this was done, the hands or the feet were to be bound up, and certain charms to be said, and a day or two after to be opened : if the parts were whole, the party was judged to be innocent ; and so on the contrary.

3. The rack is used nowhere as in England : in other countries 't is used in judicature, when there is a "sempilena probatio," a half proof against a man ; then to see if they can make it full, they rack him if he will not confess.* But here in England they take a

* By the law of the Dutch republic, torture was applied in a more preposterous manner. It was a maxim

man and rack him, I do not know why, nor when ; not in time of judicature, but when somebody bids.

4. Some men, before they come to their trial, are cozened to confess upon examination : upon this trick, they are made to believe somebody has confessed before them ; and then they think it a piece of honor to be clear and ingenuous, and that destroys them.

UNIVERSITY.

1. THE best argument why Oxford should have precedence of Cambridge, is the act of parliament by which Oxford is made a body, made what it is, and Cambridge is made what it is ; and in the act it takes place. Besides, Oxford has the best monuments to show.

of their jurisprudence, that no man could justly be put to death unless he had confessed the crime which was laid to his charge ; and when this confession was withheld, a criminal convicted upon the clearest evidence was subjected to the torture. It is not a little astonishing, that in a country where the study of jurisprudence was so successfully cultivated, where it was cultivated by Grotius, Bynkershoek, Noodt, and Schultingius, so absurd a maxim should long have retained the force of law.

2. 'T was well said of one, hearing of a history lecture to be founded in the university : " Would to God," says he, " they would direct a lecture of discretion there ; this would do more good there a hundred times."

3. He that comes from the university to govern the state, before he is acquainted with the men and manners of the place, does just as if he should come into the presence-chamber all dirty, with his boots on, his riding-coat and his head all daubed. They may serve him well enough in the way, but when he comes to court, he must conform to the place.

V O W S.

SUPPOSE a man find by his own inclination he has no mind to marry, may he not then vow chastity ? *Answer.* If he does, what a fine thing hath he done ! 'T is as if a man did not love cheese, and then he would vow to God Almighty never to eat cheese. He that vows can mean no more in sense than this ; to do his utmost endeavour to keep his vow.

USURY.

1. THE Jews were forbidden to take use one of another, but they were not forbidden to take it of other nations. That being so, I see no reason why I may not as well take use for my money as rent for my house. 'T is a vain thing to say, money begets not money; for that no doubt it does.*

2. Would it not look oddly to a stranger that should come into this land, and hear in our pulpits usury preached against, and yet the law allow it? Many men use it, perhaps some

* See Bentham's *Defence of Usury*, p. 100, 3d edition. Lond. 1816, 12mo. During the age of Selden, a strong prejudice still prevailed against the lending of money at interest, which in every form was denominated usury; and it was not without a considerable degree of caution, that the "Commodities of Usury" were displayed by Lord Bacon. (*Essays*, p. 224.) "John Calvin," says an excellent writer of that period, "was the first good man, from the beginning of the world, that maintained use to be lawful; and I have often wished, that whatsoever his conceit was, that he had been pleased to conceal it, for he hath done much hurt: and howsoever he means and tempers his conclusions with sundry constraints, and equitable and pious considerations, (so that he which practiseth use with Calvin's limits, shall do by it little hurt,) yet I know not how, 'multos invenit sententiæ fautores, pietatis nullos.'" (*Works of John Hales*, vol. i. p. 200.)

churchmen themselves. No bishop nor ecclesiastical judge, that pretends power to punish other faults, dares punish, or at least does punish, any man for doing it.

PIOUS USES.

THE ground of the ordinary's taking part of a man's estate, who died without a will, to pious uses, was this ; to give it somebody to pray that his soul might be delivered out of purgatory : now the pious uses come into his own pocket. 'T was well expressed by John o' Powls in the play, who acted the priest : one that was to be hanged, being brought to the ladder, would fain have given something to the poor ; he feels for his purse, (which John o' Powls had picked out of his pocket before,) missing it, cries out he had lost his purse ; now he intended to have given something to the poor. John o' Powls bid him be pacified, for the poor had it already.

W A R.

1. Do not undervalue an enemy by whom you have been worsted. When our country-

men came home from fighting with the Saracens, and were beaten by them, they pictured them with huge, big, terrible faces (as you still see the sign of the Saracen's head is,) when in truth they were like other men. But this they did to save their own credits.

2. Martial law, in general, means nothing but the martial law of this or that place ; with us to be used in " *fervore belli*," in the face of the enemy, not in time of peace ; there they can take away neither limb nor life. The commanders need not complain for want of it, because our ancestors have done gallant things without it.

3. *Question.* Whether may subjects take up arms against their prince ? *Answer.* Conceive it thus : here lies a shilling betwixt you and me : ten-pence of the shilling is yours, two-pence is mine : by agreement, I am as much king of my two-pence, as you of your ten-pence : if you therefore go about to take away my two-pence I will defend it ; for there you and I are equal, both princes.

4. Or thus : two supreme powers meet : one says to the other, " Give me your land ; if you will not, I will take it from you " : the other, because he thinks himself too weak to resist him, tells him, " Of nine parts I will give you three, so I may quietly enjoy the rest, and I

will become your tributary." Afterwards the prince comes to exact six parts, and leaves but three ; the contract then is broken, and they are in parity again.

5. To know what obedience is due to the prince, you must look into the contract betwixt him and his people : as if you would know what rent is due from the tenant to the landlord, you must look into the lease. When the contract is broken, and there is no third person to judge, then the decision is by arms. And this is the case between the prince and the subject.

6. *Question.* What law is there to take up arms against the prince, in case he break his covenant? *Answer.* Though there be no written law for it, yet there is custom, which is the best law of the kingdom ; for in England they have always done it. There is nothing expressed between the king of England and the king of France, that if either invades the other's territory, the other shall take up arms against him ; and yet they do it upon such an occasion.

7. 'T is all one to be plundered by a troop of horse, or to have a man's goods taken from him by an order from the council-table. To him that dies, 't is all one whether it be by a penny halter or a silk garter ; yet I confess the

silk garter pleases more ; and, like trouts, we love to be tickled to death.

8. The soldiers say they fight for honor, when the truth is they have their honor in their pocket ; and they mean the same thing that pretend to fight for religion. Just as a parson goes to law with his parishioners : he says, for the good of his successors, that the church may not lose its right ; when the meaning is to get the tithes into his own pocket.

9. We govern this war as an unskilful man does a casting-net : if he has not the right trick to cast the net off his shoulder, the leads will pull him into the river. I am afraid we shall pull ourselves into destruction.

10. We look after the particulars of a battle, because we live in the very time of war ; whereas of battles past we hear nothing but the number slain. Just as for the death of a man : when he is sick, we talk how he slept this night and that night, when he eat, and what he drank ; but when he is dead, we only say, he died of a fever, or name his disease, and there's an end.

11. Boccaline has this passage of soldiers. They came to Apollo to have their profession made the eighth liberal science, which he granted. As soon as it was noised up and down, it came to the butchers, and they de-

sired their profession might be made the ninth : " for," say they, " the soldiers have this honor for the killing of men ; now we kill as well as they ; but we kill beasts for the preserving of men, and why should we not have honor likewise done unto us ? " Apollo could not answer their reasons, so he reversed his sentence, and made the soldiers' trade a mystery, as the butchers' is.

WITCHES.

THE law against witches does not prove there be any ; but it punishes the malice of those people that use such means to take away men's lives. If one should profess, that by turning his hat thrice, and crying " buz," he could take away a man's life, though in truth he could do no such thing, yet this were a just law made by the state, that whosoever should turn his hat thrice, and cry " buz," with an intention to take away a man's life, shall be put to death.*

* The justice of such a law seems to be very questionable. The intention and the act of murder may be equal sins, but they cannot be considered as equal crimes ; for human laws must have a reference, not to internal purposes, but to external actions. But he who

W I F E.

1. HE that hath a handsome wife, by other men is thought happy ; 't is a pleasure to look upon her, and be in her company ; but the husband is cloyed with her. We are never content with what we have.

2. You shall see a monkey sometimes, that has been playing up and down the garden, at length leap up to the top of the wall, but his clog hangs a great way below on this side. The bishop's wife is like that monkey's clog ; himself is got up very high, takes place of the temporal barons, but his wife comes a great way behind.

3. 'T is reason a man that will have a wife should be at the charge of her trinkets, and pay all the scores she sets on him. He that will keep a monkey, 't is fit he should pay for the glasses he breaks.

intends to commit murder, and in consequence of that intention is guilty of wounding and maiming, may justly be subjected to severe punishment ; not however on account of his mere intention, but on account of his inflicting an atrocious injury.

WISDOM.

1. A WISE man should never resolve upon any thing, at least never let the world know his resolution, for if he cannot arrive at that, he is ashamed. How many things did the king resolve in his declaration concerning Scotland, never to do, and yet did them all! A man must do according to accidents and emergencies.

2. Never tell your resolution beforehand; but when the cast is thrown, play it as well as you can to win the game you are at. 'T is but folly to study how to play size-ace, when you know not whether you shall throw it or no.

3. Wise men say nothing in dangerous times. The lion, you know, called the sheep, to ask her if his breath smelled: she said, "Ay"; he bit off her head for a fool. He called the wolf, and asked him: he said, "No"; he tore him in pieces for a flatterer. At last he called the fox, and asked him: "Truly he had got a cold, and could not smell." King James was pictured, &c.

WIT.

1. Wit and wisdom differ : wit is upon the sudden turn, wisdom is in bringing about ends.

2. Nature must be the groundwork of wit and art ; otherwise whatever is done will prove but Jack-pudding's work.

3. Wit must grow like fingers. If it be taken from others, 't is like plums stuck upon black thorns ; there they are for a while, but they come to nothing.

4. He that will give himself to all manner of ways to get money, may be rich : so he that lets fly all he knows or thinks, may by chance be satirically witty. Honesty sometimes keeps a man from growing rich, and civility from being witty.

5. Women ought not to know their own wit, because they will still be showing it, and so spoil it ; like a child that will continually be showing its fine new coat, till at length it all bedaubs it with its pah hands.

6. Fine wits destroy themselves with their own plots, in meddling with great affairs of state. They commonly do as the ape that saw the gunner put bullets in the cannon, and was pleased with it, and he would be doing so too : at last he puts himself into the piece, and so both ape and bullet were shot away together.

WOMEN.

1. "LET the women have power on their heads, because of the angels." The reason of the words, "because of the angels," is this; the Greek church held an opinion, that the angels fell in love with women; an opinion grounded upon that, Genesis vi. "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair." This fancy St. Paul discreetly catches, and uses it as an argument to persuade them to modesty.

2. The grant of a place is not good by the canon law, before a man be dead: upon this ground some mischief might be plotted against him in present possession, by poisoning or some other way. Upon the same reason a contract made with a woman, during her husband's life, was not valid.

3. Men are not troubled to hear a man dispraised, because they know, though he be naught, there's worth in others. But women are mightily troubled to hear any of them spoken against, as if the sex itself were guilty of some unworthiness.

4. Women and princes must both trust somebody; and they are happy or unhappy according to the desert of those under whose hands they fall. If a man knows how to manage the

favor of a lady, her honor is safe, and so is a prince's.

Y E A R.

1. 'T WAS the manner of the Jews (if the year did not fall out right, but that it was dirty for the people to come up to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover, or that their corn was not ripe for their first fruits) to intercalate a month, and so to have, as it were, two Februaries, thrusting up the year still higher, March into April's place, April into May's place, &c. Whereupon it is impossible for us to know when our Saviour was born, or when he died.

2. The year is either the year of the moon, or the year of the sun ; there's not above eleven days' difference. Our movable feasts are according to the year of the moon ; else they should be fixed.

3. Though they reckon ten days sooner beyond sea, yet it does not follow their spring is sooner than ours : we keep the same time in natural things, and their ten days sooner, and our ten days later, in those things mean the selfsame time ; just as twelve sous in French, are tenpence in English.

4. The lengthening of days is not suddenly perceived till they are grown a pretty deal longer; because the sun, though it be in a circle, yet it seems for a while to go in a right line: for take a segment of a great circle especially, and you shall doubt whether it be straight or no: but when the sun is got past that line, then you presently perceive the days are lengthened. Thus it is in the winter and summer solstice, which is indeed the true reason of them.

5. The eclipse of the sun is, when it is new moon; the eclipse of the moon, when it is full. They say Dionysius was converted by the eclipse that happened at our Saviour's death, because it was neither of these, and so could not be natural.

ZEALOTS.

ONE would wonder Christ should whip the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and nobody offer to resist him, considering what opinion they had of him: but the reason was, they had a law, that whosoever did profane "*sanc-titatem Dei aut templi*," the holiness of God or the temple, before ten persons, it was lawful

for any of them to kill him, or to do any thing this side killing him ; as whipping him, or the like : and hence it was, that when one struck our Saviour before the judge, where it was not lawful to strike, as it is not with us at this day, he only replies : “ If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil ; but if well, why smitest thou me ? ” He says nothing against their smiting him, in case he had been guilty of speaking evil, that is, blasphemy ; and they could have proved it against him. They that put this law in execution were called zealots : but afterwards they committed many villanies.

END.





